



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

ANDOVER-HARVARD LIBRARY



AH 4LPR I

Harvard Depository
Brittle Book

Se
~~1273~~

688a
Zahn
=
c.1



Library of the Divinity School.

Bought with money

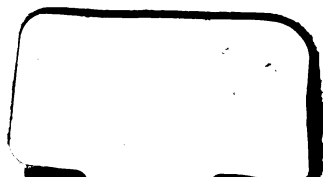
GIVEN BY

THE SOCIETY

FOR PROMOTING

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION.

Received 18 May, 1900.



**THE APOSTLES'
CREED**

The Apostles' Creed

A Sketch of its History and
an Examination of its Contents

By THEODOR ZAHN Dr. and Professor
of Theology at Erlangen Hon. Litt. D.
Cambridge    

TRANSLATED BY .

C. S. BURN AND

A. E. BURN B.D

RECTOR OF KYNERSLEY
AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN
TO THE LORD BISHOP OF
LICHFIELD . . .

 LONDON: HODDER AND STOUGHTON

27 PATERNOSTER ROW   1899

YIE
Trinity School

Butler & Tanner, The Selwood Printing Works, Frome, and London.

TO THE MEMORY
OF
PAUL CASPARI

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

IT is too often taken for granted that the trend of modern criticism is destructive of the ancient literal acceptance of the Creed which we revere as the faith of our fathers, and as the faith which we ourselves confess in our daily prayers. We have been accustomed to call it "The Apostles' Creed" because we believed that it truly represented the substance of Apostolic teaching, though we did not argue that the Apostles wrote it in so many words. But the undisputed fact that, in the course of its long history the form has received certain additions, has led men to question whether the enlarged form set the old faith in a new light, or whether its value had vanished with its ancient simplicity.

Objections are raised, first to one article and

then to another. "He descended into hell" is put aside as unintelligible to the mind of a nineteenth century critic. "The resurrection of the flesh" is explained away. Finally, the doctrine of the Incarnation itself, which is the foundation truth of Christianity, is denied outright. We are not surprised to hear of a professor who whittled down his creed to the words "I believe," thus reconciling credulity and scepticism.

At the recent Bradford Church Congress, Professor J. A. Robinson called attention to the fact that, in regard to the dating of the earliest Christian documents, criticism had retraced its steps.¹

This result of scientific investigation is a fact of great importance because, though it does not put an end to controversy, it enables us to see, as the smoke of previous conflicts clears away, where the new attack upon the fortress of our

¹ *The Guardian*, Oct. 5, 1898, p. 1556.

faith is likely to be made. The question is now one of *interpretation*. The critics are agreed in regarding the chief books of the New Testament as contemporary testimonies to the beliefs of the early Christians. But how did the early Christians understand those books? Are we to follow the opinion of those who would have us think that the interpretation which they put upon the more important dogmatic passages in these books differed completely from our own? Did they worship Christ only as an adopted Son of God? Did they regard the Holy Spirit as an impersonal gift?

At this critical moment it is a fact of great importance that loyal churchmen should be able to claim Professor Theodor Zahn as an ally in the great campaign. That he is one of the foremost German theologians is acknowledged on all hands; and the University of Cambridge has recently recognised it by conferring on him the honorary degree of Doctor in Literature. The manly straightforwardness of the faith, expressed

in the following pages, will commend itself to "all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

It only remains to point out that the teaching of an orthodox Lutheran on "the Church" necessarily differs from ours. But it is not likely that any English Churchman, sufficiently instructed to appreciate the argument of this book, will be led to dissent from the teaching of our formularies. We believe more definitely in the necessity of a visible Church because, in the continued existence of the Christian Society, we find, to use a technical phrase, "the extension of the Incarnation," the bond of Christian fellowship, and the pledge of sacramental grace.

It may also be noted that Bishop Lightfoot, in his Dissertation on "The Brethren of the Lord,"¹ has shown that it is improbable, taking the Scriptural notices alone, that the so-called Brethren were truly sons of the Blessed Virgin, and that such a view cannot plead the prestige

¹ *The Epistle of St. Paul, Galatians*, ed. 7, p. 252.

of tradition. His arguments are not, in our judgment, shaken by Dr. J. B. Mayor's discussion of the question in his *Epistle of St. James*, chapter i.

Our translation is based on the Second German Edition, but it contains some additions and alterations, which Professor Zahn has prepared for a Third Edition, and for which we desire to express our thanks. The second half of the book has appeared as a series of articles in the *Expositor* for 1898, and we are grateful to the Editor, the Rev. Dr. Robertson Nicoll, for his continued interest in our wish to bring Professor Zahn's work under the notice of English readers.

NOTE

PROFESSOR ZAHN'S references are to the second edition of Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole*. I will add the corresponding references to the third edition, in which the book has been rearranged and considerably enlarged.

		Hahn (II.)		Hahn (III.)
Page 15	. .	page 45, n. 152	. .	page 72, n. 167.
„ 32	. .	„ 4	. . . .	„ 15.
„ 95	. .	„ 31 f., 34	. .	„ 58, 60, 63.
„ 95	. .	„ 61	. . . .	„ 139.
„ 98	. .	„ 64 f	. . . .	„ 141 f.
„ 106	. .	„ 29-35	. .	„ 16, 60-64.
„ 154	. .	„ 36	. . . .	„ 69.
„ 154	. .	„ 28	. . . .	„ 45.
„ 154	. .	„ 35	. . . .	„ 66.
„ 154	. .	„ 162	. . . .	„ 235.
„ 155	. .	„ 125 f.	. . . .	„ 204 f.
„ 155	. .	„ 129	. . . .	„ 208.
„ 175	. .	„ 25	. . . .	„ 42.
„ 194	. .	„ 30	. . . .	„ 58.

Part I
THE HISTORY

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

HITHERTO I have not felt myself called upon to enter into the controversy on the Apostles' Creed. Not only has the Prussian State Church, which has been most directly affected by the dispute, servants of the Word who have protested against the attacks made on the deepest foundations of their faith, and the most necessary means for the fulfilment of their official duties, but she has also theologians enough who can prove from the Bible and from history that they have a right to protest. They have already begun to do this

My dissertation is to be by no means controversial, neither do I now intend to enter into competition with the pamphlets on the Creed which have been springing up on all sides like mushrooms in the night out of the ground. I

was occupied with very different work when the conflict broke out, and it seemed to be my first duty to complete it. If I only now hesitatingly give way, and say a word on the subject at the urgent request of men on whose judgment as to the usefulness of the task I must rely, I do so under the impression that the necessary knowledge of the subject is not possessed by the outer circle of theologians in the long periods of peace as in the days of fierce conflict.

That which the best informed of us know of the history of the Creed we owe in a great measure to the incomparably thorough and unswervingly faithful thirty years' work of the man to whose memory these pages are gratefully dedicated. It is not indeed to do honour to the man, but out of the fulness of my heart, that I once more, over the grave, thus thankfully press the hand of the lovable theologian, the humble Christian, the true Israelite without guile, as I have so often pressed that hand when it was still at work. Nearly every summer for many

years P. Caspari came over from Christiania by way of Leipsic and Erlangen to visit the libraries and monasteries on both sides of the Alps. He would not agree to all that I say here. So far as time permitted, when he had been pouring out rich stores of learning, expression was given to views differing from his on certain points by no means unimportant. But I have hardly ever known a learned man, who might have been so well justified in doing so, and yet who was so far from assuming the rôle of dictator.

It was the extravagant estimate formed of the Apostles' Creed by Grundtvig and his followers which gave the first impetus to Caspari, the Orientalist and exegetist of the Old Testament, and led him to the studies which resulted in a mass of scattered pamphlets and a stately row of bulky tomes.¹ To-day it is the under-estima-

¹ I quote here from Caspari i.-iv.: *Ungedruckte, unbeachtete und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, vols. i.-iii. (1866, 1869, 1875), and *Alte und neue Quellen*, etc. (1879).

tion of the same Creed which awakens the vain wish that the man who worked so hard to the day of his death might have been permitted to gather up the results of his investigations in an historical form. Some of the results of these investigations have been collected by L. Hahn in his *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der Alten Kirche*, which was re-edited by A. Hahn in 1877.¹ This is a book which, in spite of some defects that might have been avoided, has a right to a place in the library of every clergyman. But documents are not history. A history of the Apostles' Creed has yet to be written. Besides incorporating work already done, it must have for its foundation much work

To these may be added several scattered treatises—some written in Norwegian and partly published in a collection in 1881—especially the *Kirchenhistorischen Anekdoten*, i. (1883), pp. 280-360; unfortunately the treatises which were to have been written for vol. ii. never appeared. I quote these works oftener than I like because their arrangement and the lack of *indices* much increases the difficulty of finding isolated facts.

¹ And again in 1897.—*Trans.*

that has yet to be done, and must be unstained by that party theology which distorts and colours everything falsely. I fear that some decades must yet pass before it can be written. In the meantime one who has been thoroughly impressed with the theological and ecclesiastical importance of the subject, and has done independent work on some important points, may be permitted to publish what he believes he can offer to a wider circle on the elucidation of the history of the Apostles' Creed, and the testing of its contents by the rule of the Bible and its ecclesiastical development. Nothing more will be attempted here. Above all, I shall not touch on the questions of morals and the rights of the Church which have been raised during the present controversy. Neither shall I touch on that other question, which lies much closer to my heart, namely, how sanctifying faith in Jesus is related to the facts by which God has revealed Himself to us in Jesus, through Jesus, and by Jesus. I imagine that throughout Christendom

the words of the oldest commentary will hold good for all time: *Qui credit in auctorem credit et in opus auctoris*.¹ I am the more ready to refrain with a light heart from following out this weighty thought, because I have been requested, and the opportunity will be given me, to do so at the right time and in a suitable place.²

¹ Thus in the *Explanatio symboli*, rightly ascribed to Ambrose (Caspari, ii. 55; iv. 218).

² Cf. my Lecture, *Der Kampf um das Apostolicum*, Nürnberg, 1893, which has been published in the meantime.

I.

NEGOTIATIONS with reference to reunion between the Roman and Greek Churches were held in Ferrara in 1438. In the course of an introductory address Cardinal Cesarini, the spokesman of the Latins, spoke of an Apostles' Council, and of the Holy Creed which the Apostles had delivered to the Church. The spokesman of the Greeks, Mark Eugenikus, Archbishop of Ephesus, observed in his reply: "We have no Apostles' Creed, and have never seen one." As for the Apostles' Council referred to, he only knew of that mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, at which matters were discussed which had no reference to the faith. The Roman Cardinal then dropped the Apostles' Council, and contented himself with the assurance that the Latins

possessed the Apostles' Creed.¹ The Greek was right, not only in disputing the Western fable of a thousand years, according to which the Apostles' Creed was composed by the Apostles on the basis of their united deliberations, but also in refuting by his convincing testimony the assumption that it was universally recognised at that time by the whole of Christendom. In the Greek Church the decrees of the Great Councils had long before dislodged the older forms of the confession of the faith from liturgical use, and even from the memory of theologians. If the Archbishop of Ephesus, however, had asked to see the Apostles' Creed of the Latins, and if he had taken the trouble to examine the works of the Greek Fathers from the 2nd to the 4th century, he would soon have found that essentially the same confession which the Westerns placed before all other forms of confession as the actual composition

¹ *Vera historia unionis non verae sive concilii Florentini graece scripta per S. Sguropulum* (that is *Syropulum*), ed. R. Creighton (1660), p. 150 f.

of the Apostles, was also used in the Eastern Churches as a Baptismal Confession, though not known as the Apostles' Creed, and not in a rigidly uniform shape.

If we understand the Apostles' Creed to consist exactly of those sentences and words which are to be found in the Latin Book of Concords of 1584, under the title *Symbolum apostolicum* as the first of *Tria symbola catholica seu oecumenica*—the German translation of which all the children of our Church learn in Luther's catechism—then we must allow this to be one of the younger confessions of faith brought forward by the old Church. If, on the contrary, we look on this formula in the light of historical development and notice the essential contents and the characteristic archetypes of this confession, using the name *Symbolum apostolorum* in the wider sense demanded, by history, then the Apostles' Creed is the oldest, the most popular, and the most universal confession of Christendom. It betrays a certain want of goodwill or of general knowledge when people in the controversy of

to-day persist in endeavouring to limit the name Apostles' Creed to this recension, which appeared at a late period of the early Church, and only very gradually attained to supremacy in the West. It is as clear as day that that which has made the Creed a stone of stumbling and a cause of dispute in our times is by no means peculiar¹ to that comparatively recent recension, but was to be found centuries before, not only in substance in all the confessions of faith in the Eastern as well as in the Western Churches, but also in a similar, if not in exactly the same, forms. There would be fewer pretexts, though not fewer grounds, for objections to the Apostles' Creed if an older form instead of that at present in use were introduced into our Church. Moreover, people seem to overlook the

¹ The chief peculiarities which characterize the formula which at last became predominant, and distinguish it from the older formulas with which it may be compared, are the following : (i.) *Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine*, instead of *Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex or et Maria Virgine* ; (ii.) *descendit ad inferna* ; (iii.) *catholicam* as an attribute of the Church ; (iv.) *sanctorum communionem*.

fact that just in those theological circles in which our present Creed was formulated and fixed, the name *Symbolum apostolorum* and the unhistorical description of its origin associated with the name did not prevail.¹ On the contrary, a much older

¹ Faustus of Riez, in his first sermon on the Creed, mentions the authors of it not as Apostles, but as "ecclesiarum patres, de populorum salute solliciti," and again "ecclesiarum magistri," and as having drawn the Creed from the Bible, not from the spirit. Caspari, *Anecdota*, p. 315, 316. When in *de spiritu* s. i. 1 (ed. Engelbrecht, p. 102, 7), he ascribes this production to the same *apostolica sollicitudo atque perfectio*, which had previously produced the Bible, that does not represent any other view. Apostolic carefulness is also ascribed to the Church teachers who revised the Creed. A later revision of Faustus' treatise (Caspari, iv. 263, *apostoli et ecclesiarum patres*) confuses the common view with the true view of Faustus, but then proves just by its addition that the expressions of Faustus are not to be understood, as Caspari there decided, as referring to the Apostles. Neither the expression *Symbolum apostolorum* or any similar one is to be found in Faustus' works (see also *Ep.* 7, p. 205, 5). In the explanations of the Creed which have been preserved in the *Missale Gallicanum vetus* (Mabillon, *de liturgia gall.* p. 333 ff., 347 ff.), in all the eulogies of the Creed the name of the Apostles is not even mentioned. On the contrary, p. 341, *Symboli conditores* are quite indefinitely and naturally referred to. We find a

original form of the confession had been so named and accepted in other ecclesiastical circles. It

similar case in the Sacramentary of Bobbio, also derived from Gaul (Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* i. 2, 312), where no other authority is given for the formula than "the holy Catholic Church." The legendary form, p. 396, which is found as an addition to it, does not belong, any more than the canon of the Bible which follows, to the original contents of this Mass-book; cf. my *Hist. of the Canon*, ii. 284 ff. At a somewhat earlier period Cassian sought in an indefinite manner to weld together the most diverse views (*c. Nestorium*, iii. 3, 3). We are reminded of Ambrose (Caspari, ii. 50 f.), when he translates *symbolus*, which he writes instead of *symbolum*, by *collatio*, and explains thereby that the faith of the whole Catholic Law was gathered together by the Apostles. And yet Cassian does not seem to believe in a direct Apostolic compilation of the Creed. For without referring again to the Apostles he goes on to say that all that is poured forth in endless fulness by the whole body of the Holy Scriptures is summed up in perfect brevity in the Creed. When he repeats the same thought a second time (iii. 4, 1), he speaks of God as the Author of the Bible as well as of the Creed, and answers the question with reference to the Bible, "By what men did God do this?" with the words: *per patriarchas et prophetas maxime suos*; with reference to the Creed, *per apostolos suos sacerdotesque*. It remains uncertain how far the Apostles and how far the priests or bishops took part in the compilation of the Creed.

would therefore be more correct historically to call the baptismal confession, found with so many variations in the Italian Church in the 4th century, the "*symbolum apostolorum*," and to remark that this name has been gradually transferred to the latest revision of the old confession, or rather is first to be traced in literature after the 4th century and has belonged to it to this day. Our creed of to-day has also often been called a Roman or the new Roman Creed. This is not only misleading, but absolutely incorrect. It is only when we expressly explain that we wish to keep our eyes fixed on that in use in the Roman Church, and to distinguish between it and an older baptismal confession, which was earlier, and for hundreds of years used in Rome, that we can in any sense call it the new Roman. The accent then is laid on "new" in contrast to "old," and the unaccented "Roman" must suggest only that we wish to speak of the Roman apart from the other Churches. If then that older confession which the Roman Church prided herself on having

preserved with peculiar fidelity can only very doubtfully be called "Roman," the same is still more true of our Apostles' Creed. However dark up to the present time the origin of the latter has remained this much is tolerably certain, that it received its present form in the South of France. We find it nearly perfect in the possession of the Bishop of Reji, now called Riez, *c.* 460.¹ Possibly only the article on the Descent into Hell² was missing, and many liturgical documents, and homiletic treatises which for that and other

¹ Cf. Caspari, ii. 183-224 ; iv. 250-281 ; *Anecd.* pp. 314-341 ; Faustus ed. Engelbrecht, pp. 102-105, 205 ; also the treatise *de ratione fidei* doubtfully ascribed to him, p. 456, 27. According to Engelbrecht, p. vi. ff., Faustus was already Abbot of Lerins in 433, and some years before 462 Bishop of Riez.

² Whether this and the words *creatorem coeli et terrae* and *sub Pontio Pilato* were really missing in Faustus' Creed, or were only accidentally left unnoticed in the homilies, has been most carefully considered by Caspari, ii. 208 ff. But he has left out these sentences in his reconstruction of the Creed on p. 204 f. According to my view this is quite right with reference to the *Descensus*, and it is confirmed by a treatise which may be referred back indirectly to Faustus. Cf. Caspari, iv. 261.

reasons are assigned to the same period and district, confirm the existence of a Creed almost identical with our own.¹ Nothing of any importance is wanting in a sermon attributed with great probability to Cæsius of Arles († 542).² It must, however, be noticed that Faustus, who

¹ To these belongs the *Miss. gall. vetus*, ed. Mabillon, *Lit. gall.* p. 348. Also the form on p. 339 differs only apparently from it, for in the explanation which follows, and in which the separate articles are repeated, *descendit ad inferna* is turned out and the parenthetical remark, p. 341, *etiam apostolus prædicavit dicens resurrexisse ab inferis salvatorem die tertia* is not an equivalent. The *Descensus*, p. 339, is rather to be considered an interpolation. It is also wanting in the Creed in the Mozarabic Liturgy (Migne 85, col. 395). On the other hand the *Descensus* is found in the double quotation of the Creed in the Sacramentary of Bobbio (Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* I, 2, 312, 313), and also in the legendary form in the Appendix (p. 396, *vid. supra*, p. 11, note 1). But *sanctorum communio* is wanting on pp. 313, 396. Though the latter clause is found in the first quotation, p. 312, it must be considered there as a subsequent interpolation.

² Among the Pseudo-Augustinian Sermons, No. 244 (*August. opp.*, ed. Bass, xvi. 1306). Cf. the Benedictines' preface; Hahn¹ p. 24, Hahn² p. 45, n. 152; Caspari, ii. 207; v. Zezschwitz, *System der Katechetik*, II¹, 1, 90.

by no means accepts the directly Apostolic origin of the Creed, (see p. 11), is nevertheless convinced that his Creed has long been the baptismal confession of his own Church. He confronts a sect existing in Gaul from the beginning of the 5th century, who rejected the worship of saints, with one of its most doubtful clauses, "the communion of saints," as an article of their baptismal confession which they had broken through their heresy.¹ In the South of France, where Greek maintained a definite place in worship longer than elsewhere, the younger Apostles' Creed was translated into Greek either as a whole or on account of the portions which had been added later.² The Celtic Church of Great Britain, which was independent of Rome, received it from France, at the latest, in the 7th century, and probably considerably earlier.³

¹ *Tractat. de symbol.* c. 9; Caspari, iv. 273 f. See his remarks p. 262.

² Caspari's thorough investigations on this point also (iii. 11-22, 204-237; iv. 318) never reached a conclusion.

³ The Antiphonary of the Irish monastery of Bangor in

Even the Roman Church, which had replaced her older creed a long time before with the confession of Nicæa and Constantinople, can only have received the younger Apostles' Creed from France. Although in earlier times the high-flown style of the authors in Southern France,¹ "the Gallic buskin," was found fault with and laughed at, yet in the end the other Churches have been obliged to acknowledge that this portion of Christendom possessed a peculiar gift for melodious and dignified liturgical language. We have to thank her for the most beautiful prayers, although she perhaps only translated and transmitted to the Latin West the liturgical treasures of the East. To her belongs the credit of having transformed the old baptismal confession, which, during the 4th century, was used in most varied forms in the different Church provinces, into a rhythmic

a 7th century MS. contains all the characteristics of the younger Apostles' Creed in a remarkably free recension. Cf. Caspari, ii. 283-289 ; iii. 197, n. 339.

¹ Cf. Caspari, ii. 114 f., n. 88 ; iii. 201 ff, 217 ff.

and harmonious portion of the liturgy.¹ Rome's merit, after she had once accepted the formula, is confined to holding fast to it, and using her power of centralization to further the spread of a stereotyped text throughout the whole of the West.

The presbyter Rufinus gives us a review of the state of things which preceded the conclusion of the formative process, and at least the further dispersion of our Apostles' Creed, in a work on the Creed brought out by him between the years 399 and 408. The subject of his exposition is the baptismal Creed of the Church of Aquileia, in which in 370 he received Baptism, and at the same time this Creed. But he does not discuss it

¹ Faustus speaks (*de spir.* I. 1, p. 102) significantly enough of *symboli salutare carmen*, and Hom. i. *de symbolo* (Caspari, *Anecdota*, p. 317), *coelestis sapientiae vitale carmen*. As the text of the Creed commented on by Faustus shows, we must not think here of a real poem in metre or rhythm such as the *Te Deum laudamus* ascribed to Ambrose, or the hymns really introduced by him. Cf. Ambrosius *c. Auxentium* after *Epist.* 21, ed. Bened. ii. 873; Augustine, *Conf.* ix. 7.

without casting side-glances on the baptismal confessions of other Churches. He had not lacked opportunities for becoming acquainted with them. He had passed six years in Alexandria and very nearly twenty in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood. He had also made a long stay in Rome before settling in Aquileia for the rest of his life. He had also read some sermons on the Creed by famous preachers of foreign churches.¹

¹ *Expos. symbolo*, c. i. (ed. Baluzius at the end of *Cypriani opera*, Paris, 1726, in the Appendix, p. 198): Et quidem comperi nonnullos illustrium tractatorum (that is preachers), aliqua de his pie et breviter edidisse. That he had not only heard of them but had also read them is proved by the following words: . . . tentabimus vel quae omissa videntur a prioribus adimplere. The sermons which Caspari, ii. 48-127; iv. 196-222, has attributed to Ambrose may also have been amongst them. Rufinus refers to these not only in his acknowledgment of the peculiar faithfulness of the Roman Church in the preservation of the Creed, especially in contrast to the Oriental Church, but also in the legend of the origin of the Creed by the united discussions and separate contributions of the Apostles (c. 2, p. 198; c. 3, p. 199; cf. with Ambrosius in Caspari, ii. 51, 53, 56; iv. 214, 216, 220).

Rufinus praises the Roman Church, as Ambrose¹ had done before him, for allowing no additions to be made to the original formula. He explains this peculiarity, first, by the fact that no heresy had arisen within the Roman Church, and therefore there had been no need to protect it by further definitions; and, secondly, by the custom of the Roman Church of obliging her candidates for baptism to repeat aloud and publicly before the assembled community the Creed they had received and committed to memory. By this means the very slightest variation of even one word was noticed by the listening community, and pointed out by them to the baptized. The praise which Rufinus meted out to the Roman Church for this tender care is all the greater because he believed in the legend that the Apostles, before entering on their missionary journeys, assembled with the special intention of compiling the Creed

¹ *Epist.* 42, 5, *ad Syricium papam* (ed. Veneta, 1751; iii. 1041): *Credatur symbolo apostolorum, quod ecclesia Romana intemeratum semper custodit et servat.*

and that they composed it together under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. It was an inspired Apostolic word, which the Romans had guarded so much more faithfully than other Christians. Yet, in spite of all this, Rufinus preferred for himself and his community the Aquileian Creed, and he spoke quite openly of the many additions and variations by which this, and again in other ways the baptismal Creeds of the Oriental Churches, differed from the Roman, which was supposed to be the unaltered work of the Apostles. With the Roman Church he confessed "God the Father the Almighty," but in conscious deviation from her he added the attributes incorporated in the Aquileian, "invisible and incapable of suffering." He retained "descended into hell" as he had learnt it before his baptism, although he knew that it was just as foreign to the Oriental as to the Roman Creed. He defended this and other pointed additions as needful for defence against errors which were always springing up, and also for the need of greater clearness in educational

usage. In spite of all he knew he never allowed himself to be disturbed in representing the Creed as substantially the same as that composed by the Apostles, to which he adhered with all Christendom. Other Italian Churches, such as those of Milan and Ravenna, held more strictly to the simple Roman formula; only very insignificant differences arose. Augustine, who had received baptism and the baptismal Creed from Ambrose in Milan, had as a rule, as priest and Bishop of Hippo in Africa, adhered to this short formula. But he was not able to shake off entirely the influence of his African surroundings. Occasionally he made use of the very different African Creed, when conducting public worship. The survival of the peculiar African Creed after Augustine's time proves that he made no real attempt to throw his great influence into the scale in order to introduce the shorter form from Rome and Milan.¹ The Church history of Africa and of all other countries at that time is abso-

¹ Cf. Caspari, ii. 245, 264-282; iv. 223-249.

lutely silent as to any conflict over the Creed, or even as to any friction, such as that caused by the attempts to introduce Jerome's new translation of the Bible. John Cassian, after spending many years in various places in the East, and also in Rome, worked from 410-440 as the founder of monasteries and as an author in the neighbourhood of Marseilles. He knew well, and says very plainly, that the baptismal confession which Nestorius, who was baptized in the Church of Antioch, had received differed in a very peculiar manner from the baptismal Creeds of other Churches; but he declares no less distinctly that it was a 'catholic' confession and common to all Christendom.¹ The Roman Bishops Liberius and Leo the Great² spoke to the same effect both before and after. And yet in that

¹ *c. Nestorium*, vi. 3-23, ed. Petschenig, pp. 327-351, especially p. 327, 9, 27; 331, 4 f., 338, 12 (omnem catholici symboli, omnem catholici sacramenti fidem).

² The former in Hilarius, *Fragm. Hist.* xii. (ed. Bened. p. 1357 f.); the latter in *Sermo* 24; *Epist.* 28, 31, 124 (ed. Ballerini, i. 81, 803, 1242).

age of dogmatic controversy, when sufficient knowledge was possessed of the differences actually existing, which in some cases were very great, it never occurred to any one to make those differences the subject of contention or to try to explain them away.

On the contrary, in the controversies of those days, every one, when repelling the accusation of holding new doctrines which deviated from the common faith of Christendom, preferred to appeal to the faith which he had "learnt," to the Baptismal Confession of his Mother Church as an undoubted authority acknowledged by every adversary. If it is impossible to account for this view of the 4th and 5th centuries by ignorance of the great differences which existed in the various Church provinces, it is equally impossible to do so by maintaining that, because they mostly held themselves neutral on points of dogmatic controversy, they were therefore indifferent to the Creed in its various forms. The facts already quoted from literature concerning its variations

prove the reverse of indifference. The Baptismal Creed in itself, apart from all reference to the variations, was looked upon by each baptized person as his own individual confession and oath, as the shortened form of God's Word for the unlearned,¹ as the catechism which should be used in daily prayer by the laity,² and as preferable to the theological confession of Nicæa even where that was unreservedly acknowledged. Also there were those in the West, who, like Hilary of Poitiers, had lived long enough in the East to know how impossible it was that there could be any question of a literal uniformity in the Creeds. Even they clung to the surpassing worth of the baptismal confession as the bond of union throughout Christendom, and maintained that in addition to

¹ According to Isaiah 10. 23 (Rom. 9. 28); Rufinus, *Expos. Symb.* 1; Cassianus *c. Nestor.* vi. 3, and many others.

² Ambrose writes in *De Virginibus*, III. iv. 20: "We should repeat the Creed daily to ourselves in the early morning hours as a seal (shield) of our hearts. When terror befalls us, we should mentally seek refuge in it. For when would a soldier in his tent, a warrior on the battlefield, be without remembrance of his military oath?"

the baptismal confession, which was written in all hearts and which was essentially the same everywhere, no other dogmatic definitions were necessary.¹

The judgments of the Fathers mentioned above have rightly always turned the attention of investigators to the Creed of the Roman Church. An approximate representation of it may be drawn from the casual references made by Rufinus to the deviations of the Aquileian from the Roman Creed; a more definite one from the more or less exact reproductions of their own creed on the part of those who, like Ambrose, declare that they will cling to the simple Roman formula. By means of this it was not difficult to recognise in the simple Creed contained in Greek and Latin records of the 6th and 9th centuries the Roman Creed of the 4th century.² To this must be added an event of

¹ Cf. *Zeitschrift f. kirchl. Wissensch.* 1881, p. 318, n. 1-3.

² The Græco-Latin Codex E of the Acts of the Apostles (= Codex Laudianus 35 at Oxford), probably written in Sardinia in the 6th century and used by Bede in England, contains on Fol. 226 v. the Latin Creed written by another

the 4th century itself, which is very suggestive in more ways than one.

In 340-341 Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, spent fifteen months in Rome. He was there at the same time as the great Athanasius, and, like him, had been robbed of his bishopric by Arianizing theologians, who were then dominant in the East.¹ On his departure he left with the Roman Bishop Julius a short statement of his faith, to protect himself against accusations of heresy, and to provide the Roman bishop with materials for his defence against the accusations of the Orientals. For this purpose Marcellus did not make use of

hand, but which also probably belonged to the end of the 6th century. Cf. Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, ix. p. xviii.; Gregory, *Prolegomena*, p. 410 ff.; Caspari, iii. 163 ff. The oldest known record, which contains the corresponding Greek Text written in Latin letters, is the so-called "Psalter of King Aethelstan" in the British Museum (Bibl. Cott. Galba A. xviii.) ; cf. Caspari, iii. 5-10.

¹ Cf. my work on Marcellus, pp. 64-69; Hefele, *Consilien-gesch.* i.² 499. I cannot here enter into my reasons for differing from Caspari, iii. 28 f., who takes for granted a second sojourn in Rome, and ascribes the presenting of his confession to the year 337, during his first sojourn there.

the Nicene Creed, for which he had himself fought in the front rank in the Council of Nicæa and for which he had since suffered. After giving vent to a few controversial remarks against the Arians, and after a more strictly theological description of his standpoint, founding on it his Christian faith, he gathered up in a short confession that which he had learnt and his spiritual fathers had taught him out of the Holy Scriptures, and which he had since preached in the Church of God.¹ The terms which he used appear to justify the assumption that it was the exact confession of the community in Ancyra in Galatia, where he had received baptism and had exercised the Episcopate. But the penetration of J. Ussher, the first to examine into the matter, and the founder of historical

¹ The passages referring to this in Epiphanius, *Haer.* 72, 2 and 3 (Dindorf, iii. 271, 11 ; 273, 8), must be taken together. For the relation of his own confession to the theological discussion which precedes it the connection through πιστεύω οὖν εἰς Θεόν, κ.τ.λ., is significant. He requires his assent to the formula already in existence in Rome to be understood on the ground and in the sense of his own exposition.

criticism of the Creed, recognised that Marcellus' confession was, on the contrary, the baptismal confession of the Roman community, whose guest Marcellus had been for fifteen months. Most careful investigation and comparisons have only confirmed this view.¹ With the exception of two small points,² it agrees word for word, we might almost say letter for letter, with the Roman Creed as we know it from statements of Rufinus and from documents still existing. We do not know the exact wording of the baptismal confession

¹ Cf. Caspari, iii. 28-142.

² Marcellus has, according to the otherwise badly transmitted text of Epiphanius, in the 1st article *Θεὸν παντοκράτορα* without *πατέρα*, which in Rome, as almost universally, intervenes. And he has at the end of the 3rd article the *ζωὴν αἰώνιον*, which is missing in the old-Roman Creed. The question whether the variations date from Marcellus or from the transcribers of Epiphanius may be variously answered. I believe that the first is based on the peculiar theology of Marcellus, and therefore dates from him. He could also, when the matter was discussed, refer to the older tradition of the Roman Church; *vide infra*. If, therefore, as is probable, Marcellus made the second variation intentionally, he only followed the Eastern custom.

then used in Ancyra ; but we can gather from Marcellus' own statement that it agreed in one characteristic point with the universal type of Oriental Creeds, and therefore, as a matter of course, differed from the Roman Creed to which he finally adhered. Where he states his theological conviction in a more developed theological form and yet partly in that of a confession, he begins with the words, "According to the Holy Scriptures, I believe that there is one God and His only-begotten Son, the Logos." On the other hand, the Creed in which he finally gathers up everything begins, "I believe in God [the Father?] Almighty, and in Christ Jesus, His only-begotten Son, our Lord." The emphasizing of the Unity of God in the first article was a peculiarity of the Oriental type of creed. Marcellus was well aware of it, and for his peculiar theology it was of great importance. That did not, however, prevent him from making his own the baptismal Creed of the Roman Church, in which it was not expressed, nor even from maintaining that it was

the faith of the Church, which had been taught him in his youth, and of which he had made use as a Bishop in his old age. Like all Orientals Marcellus carried on his intercourse with the Roman See in Greek. The Creed which he appropriated was also Greek ; no translation from the Latin was needful. It existed in a Greek form in Rome at that time. It is now no longer necessary to prove that the Greek text of the Creed is the original as reproduced by Marcellus with, perhaps, two trifling alterations, and as it is preserved unchanged in other documents, and that all the substantially or nearly identical Latin texts are translations. If then this Roman baptismal confession was originally Greek, it follows that it points back to the time when Greek was preferred by the Roman Church for worship, and when it was also the dominant language in her literature. This state of things, which for those who are unfamiliar with the circumstances of the Roman Church at that period is very surprising, but which is not on

that account less historically certain, had by the year 250 passed away for ever. Therefore, at the latest, in the beginning of the 3rd century, the Roman Church possessed a Creed, which we know to a letter if there is any truth in the boast made known to us by an Ambrose and a Rufinus, that she had refrained from making any alterations in her Creed. We can only confirm this testimony up to a certain time and point. In itself the simplicity of this "Old Roman Creed," in comparison with the Creed of Aquileia and with that of the African Church even in the time of Cyprian, is a proof that really in Rome a very old form of the Creed had been preserved more faithfully than elsewhere. We may gather from a writing of the Roman priest Novatian and from a writing of the Roman bishop Dionysius,¹ which

¹ Novat. *de trinit.* (see the extract in Hahn, p. 4) ; Dionysius Rom. *in Athan. de decr.* ; *Nicaenae synodi*, c. 26. Both agree also as to the first article with the later Roman Creed. Dionysius : εἰς Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. So also Marcellus in

belongs to the same period, that the wording of the Roman Creed, even in such small matters as the placing of "Christ" before "Jesus," was exactly the same as in the time of Marcellus, about 340, and in that of Ambrose and Rufinus about 380-400.

The Roman exegetists of the 4th century prided themselves in that they and Latin Christians in general had preserved the Bible text pure and unchanged. They accused the Greeks of the East of remodelling the text of Holy Scripture by additions and subtractions with good and bad intentions, and also of continuing to do so. This pride of the Western Church was not without some foundation, but the text to which the Latins as faithfully clung, even obstinately, had itself in places departed very far from the original text, which we can only restore with the help of Greek and other Oriental witnesses. Is it likely that it should be otherwise with the third article; while the *Psalterium Aethelstani* reads: *καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἄγιον.*

Creed? In the centuries after Ambrose and Rufinus the Roman Church has proved herself also in this respect to be anything but logically consistent, and she has always understood how to adapt herself to, and how to meet, the requirements of the times. The first reason on which Rufinus founded his faith in the unchangeableness of the Creed in Rome does not hold good, namely, that no heresies having sprung up there, all motive for altering the Creed was lacking. During the century from 130-230 Rome was the focus of all the attacks made on the common faith of Christendom under the cloak of the Christian name. In Rome Valentinus made a new start in the development and spread of his fantastic speculations, and he was the founder of an Italian school bearing his name. In Rome Marcion was the bitter accuser of the whole of historical and ecclesiastical Christendom, the creator of a new gospel put together out of his own critical imaginings, and the founder and bishop of a reformed Church according to this

new gospel. In Rome at the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century the so-called Monarchianists appeared, Theodotus and Praxeas, representatives of quite opposing Christological doctrines, which came into immediate contact with the contents of the Creed. If the representatives of the faith of the Church in Rome charged the heretics with accounting of no value the rule (the canon) of the old or the original faith, we must not forget that these heretics, on the other hand, accused the Roman Church under the Bishop Zephyrinus (199–217), or, to speak more strictly, after that Bishop's days, of having recoined the truth like forgers.¹ Do no facts support this accusation? In order to arrive at

¹ Eus. *h. e.* v. 28, 3 and 13. What is meant by *παράρτησις* is shown by the repetition of the same expression in the counter-charge of their Catholic opponent, probably Hippolytus (Eus. v. 28, 19), necessitated by this reproach. What the Church, since the beginning of Zephyrinus' rule, was said to have done to Church preaching the heretics do to the inspired and Holy Scriptures. They themselves call it a revision of the Bible conducted on scientific principles (v. 28, 13–17).

the truth we must mount up from the middle of the 3rd to the beginning of the 2nd century.

It is an undisputed and generally acknowledged fact that the Roman Church and the Churches of the West most closely connected with her already possessed a baptismal Creed about the year 300, and even earlier. Since the Roman Church might as well be dumb¹ with reference to her Creed at this period, the Churches which looked to Rome as the nearest seat of Apostolic authority come more into notice. That means, according to the ideas of the period, the nearest authority in all matters of tradition, the doctrines of the faith, and Church customs. This is true above all of the Church of Carthage and

¹ Hippolytus, who belongs to the period of the change in question, appears to give fragments of a confession of faith, *c. Noetum*, c. 17, 18, "after the tradition of the Apostles" (ed. Lagarde, p. 55, 18), but in a very free style of quotation. Yet at the end he comes nearest to the formula, p. 57, 13 ff. However, on p. 55, 24, one must notice: *ὅτι εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ*; and p. 57, 17, *ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ*. Also in the more theological discussion, *Refut.* x. 32, 33, the Oneness of God the Creator is strongly emphasized.

the Roman province of Africa. The Carthaginian presbyter Tertullian says this expressly, and says it in the passage where he is speaking of the watchword of all Christians, which binds together the young and the old, near and distant communities, the confession of faith which the missionary Church teaches and the newly formed Church learns.¹

There was not quite the same connection existing between Rome and the communities in the South of France, two of which—those at Lyons and Vienne—had already come into the light of history. The influential Greek element in the population which had existed there from ancient times, the frequent communication between their seaports and the commercial towns of Asia Minor, had opened up the way for the Gospel to the South of France. The Christian communities there may be considered spiritual colonies of Ephesus and Smyrna. They must

¹ *De praescr. haer.* 36, cf. c. 20, and my exposition in the *Zeitschr. f. kirchl. Wiss.*, 1881, p. 310, 312 f.

have received their baptismal confession not from Rome but from Asia Minor. Nevertheless they kept up a vigorous and constant ecclesiastical intercourse with Rome, and most ardently fostered this connection. Irenæus, their spiritual leader and spokesman during the last quarter of the 2nd century, is a competent witness to the truth of this. In the dispute about Easter, between 190 and 200, which threatened to divide for ever the Church of Asia Minor from the Church of Rome, Irenæus and the Gallican Church took the side of Rome against their own mother Church of Ephesus in all that concerned the disputed custom of the Easter festival and the speculations as to its origin. The Church of Lyons had given up the older custom and had placed herself under Rome's guidance for her progressive development before the dispute broke out. What then was the attitude of the African and Gallican Churches towards the baptismal confession between 180-210? Above all, they possessed one and knew what they had got.

Amongst the examples given of Church customs which were universally acknowledged and authorized, although they could not be proved from Holy Scripture to be Divine ordinances, Tertullian mentions this also, that the candidates for baptism at their baptism, and indeed before, in the presence of the assembled community, renounced the devil and all his works, while the president raised his hand to bless them. When they received baptism, in answer to the questions put to them they added a great deal to that which had been ordained by the Lord in the Gospel, namely, in His command to baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.¹ Incidentally we find in another passage that "the Church" was "necessarily," and therefore regularly, mentioned in this

¹ *De corona*, 3; *De baptismo*, 6 (cf. c. 11). Those who wished to limit *amplius aliquid respondententes* in the first passage to the *mentio ecclesiae* brought forward in *De baptismo* 6 did not remember that *aliquid* in that connection means "something weighty," or "not a little," and that it was part of Tertullian's argument there to prove this.

baptismal confession and oath. The most diverse names were given to this confession. The most important of all, which will certainly never cease to be the source of all sorts of ambiguity, especially among German theologians, is "the precept, the rule or measure of truth" (*κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας*), and also "the rule of faith" (*κανὼν τῆς πίστεως*).¹ The first is the older² and guarantees the original meaning of the second. It is self-evident that truth can have no rule to which it must conform, no measure by which it can be measured, but is in itself rule, precept, and measure for the thought, speech, and action

¹ I must here repeat in a condensed form thoughts which I have expressed more fully in the *Zeitschrift f. kirchl. Wiss.*, 1881, pp. 306-315. The fact that the names of the baptismal confession were used besides in a wider sense does not conflict with my assertions above. It is just as natural as when we speak of "our Creed" and understand thereby either a formulary existing by right in our Church, *e.g.* the Confession of Augsburg, or, less definitely, the contents of the dogmas rightfully maintained in our Church.

² It was already used by Dionysius of Corinth, if Eusebius, *h. e.* iv. 28, 4, repeats his exact expression, as seems probable; further, Irenæus uses it everywhere.

of all who love and have become obedient to the truth. So it is also with faith which dwells in the heart, but is also always a faith which makes itself known in confession. As certainly as faith is an attribute of the inner man, and was always regarded as such by the early Church, so men were also justified in looking upon it as an objective quantity. As the faith contained in words of confession and testimony, it appealed to the man who was an unbeliever at the time when by the preaching of the Gospel he was brought into contact with the personal faith of the preacher. If this Christian faith, put into words and as it were embodied therein, wins the heart of the hearer, there begins in him exactly the same independent relation to God and Christ which was the property of the preacher who converted him. But it expresses only the reality of a process which repeats itself in a thousand ways when we speak of a faith, delivered and entrusted to believers or saints.¹ This is what

¹ Cf., on the one side, 2 Corinthians 4. 13, Romans 10.

was meant by the primitive Church when she spoke of a Canon of the Faith.

The Christian faith, brought home to men by the word preached, impressed on their memory when catechumens in the shortest possible form, and confessed by them before and at their baptism, was regarded as the inflexible measure by which the baptized should order their whole life, by which they should gauge everything presented to them under the Christian name. Nor is it true that the name of the "rule of faith" or "rule of truth" was only gradually transferred to the baptismal confession from the 3rd century. Irenæus¹ says as distinctly as Augustine² and 8-15; and on the other, Ep. Jude 3; Polycarp *ad Philipp.* 4. 2; Iren. v. *præf.*, and the first Pfaffian fragment. Stieren, p. 847.

¹ Iren. i. 9. 4. The same relation of Creed to baptism is found in Bacchiarius (Migne, 20 col. 1029): *Hic est nostrae fidei thesaurus quem signatum ecclesiastico symbolo, quod in baptismo accepimus, custodimus; or in Rufinus (Expos. symb. c. 3): Nos tamen illum ordinem sequimur, quem in Aquilejensi ecclesia per lavacri gratiam suscepimus.*

² Cf. Caspari, iv. 231 n. 20; *Liturgia Mosar.* (Migne,

the later liturgies: "He who has preserved unchanged the canon of truth which he received at baptism, when he hears heretical speeches which sound quite Christian and Biblical, will indeed recognise words, phrases and similes taken from Holy Scripture, but will not acknowledge the blasphemous doctrines which these forms cover."

We are thus brought into a position to determine with tolerable certainty the contents of the baptismal confession of the churches of Carthage and Lyons, from 180-210. This is especially true of the Carthaginian form, of which we know that it comes from Rome and is derived from the Roman Creed, though possibly from some original form now no longer extant. It is true that neither Irenæus nor Tertullian has given the exact form of the rule of truth. They were kept back by the principle maintained for hundreds of years in the Church, that this confession should not be written with pen and ink, but should be

85 col. 394): *Accipite regulam fidei, quod symbolum dicitur.*

imprinted on the heart and memory. For various reasons however, especially in opposing the heretical parties which disturbed the Church in their days, they have reproduced more than once in a free exposition the contents of their baptismal confession. We cannot in every case determine what belongs to the formula contained in the author's memory and what is his own addition, explanation, or definition, suggested by the occasion and the opposition at the time. Now we possess in the writings of Irenæus and Tertullian a number of these reproductions of the Creed. Indeed, in the case of Tertullian they date from various periods of his literary activity. That which is perpetually repeated in all the writings of an author, and is moreover always the same in the parallel passages of different authors, can only be the formula which is common to them all. If, for example, in one of these passages of Tertullian we read "dead"¹ between "suffered" and

¹ *Adv. Praxean*, 2 : Hunc passum, hunc mortuum et sepultum secundum scripturas. From the last words, which

"buried," it does not follow that it was read in the Creed of Carthage. As it is nowhere else to be found in Tertullian, nor in the same context in Irenæus, and as it is also missing in the Roman Creed, from which the Carthaginian is derived, it is highly probable that "dead" was not contained in the Creed of Carthage and Lyons as in that of Rome at the end of the 2nd century. On the other hand, nearly all the articles of the Creed as it was repeated in Rome from 250-450 may be found in Irenæus and Tertullian. But in one characteristic point the Creeds of Carthage and Lyons differ from the Roman. Whereas in the latter the first article is, "I believe in God the Father Almighty," the agreement of all the passages in Irenæus and Tertullian proves that at

also reappear later on, c. 29 *in* and c. 30, we see that this "mortuus" is chosen in connection with 1 Cor. 15. 4, and because of its appropriateness in the controversy with Praxeas. So, too, it was not the Creed, but the remembrance of Eph. 4. 9, which suggested to Tertullian the words: *Filius ascendit in superiora coelorum, qui et descendit in inferiora terrae. Hic sedet ad dexteram patris. (Prax. 30.)*

this earlier period in Lyons and Carthage the unity, the oneness of God, was acknowledged in the first article.¹ The agreement of the two

¹ Iren. i. 3, 6: τοὺς μὴ ἐδραΐαν τὴν πίστιν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ διαφυλάττοντες.—i. 10, 1: τὴν εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν . . . πίστιν.—i. 22, 1: Quum teneamus autem nos regulam veritatis, id est quia sit unus deus omnipotens, qui omnia condidit per verbum, etc.—iii. 11, 1: Omnia igitur talia circumscribere volens discipulus domini [Joannes] et regulam veritatis constituere in ecclesia, quia est unus deus omnipotens, qui per verbum suum omnia fecit, etc.—iii. 3, 3, he says of the letter of Clement to the Corinthians: Reparans fidem eorum et annuntians quam in recenti ab apostolis acceperat traditionem, annuntiantem unum deum omnipotentem, factorem coeli et terrae, etc.—iii. 4, 2, of the faith written in the heart of all Christians: in unum deum credentes, fabricatorem coeli et terrae.—iv. 33, 7: εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, πίστις ὁλόκληρος.—Cf. further i. 9, 2 (τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἓνα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα καὶ ἓνα μονογενῆ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κηρύσσοντος); i. 16, 3 (μόνον Θεὸν παντοκράτορα); iii. 6, 4 (solus et verus deus); iv. 1, 1 (qui credunt in unum et verum deum et Christum Jesum, filium dei). Tertull., *virg. vel.* 1: credendi in unicum deum omnipotentem, mundi conditorem.—*Praescr.* 13: regula est autem fidei . . . qua creditur unum omnino deum esse, nec alium praeter mundi creatorem.—*Praescr.* 36 (with special reference to the

Churches of Lyons and Carthage, being dependent on each other in this deviation from the Roman Creed, can be traced back to the Bishop Dionysius and the Presbyter Novatian. It is all the less likely to be a delusive phenomenon, produced by accident, since we find that a third Church, quite independent of Lyons and Carthage, comes forward to confirm it by her testimony. According to the account of the Roman Hippolytus, the Presbyters of Smyrna (in opposition to their colleague Noetus who deduced from the Divine Unity that there was no distinction between the Father and the Son) summed up their faith as they had learnt it, that is, in the form of the Creed which they had inherited (at the latest between 180-190), in the words : "We also know one God, we know Christ, we know the Son who suffered,

Roman rule) : unum deum [dominum ?] novit, creatorem universitatis.—*Adv. Prax.* 2 : unicum quidem deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione . . . ut unici dei sit et filius verbum. See further below on c. 3 of the same treatise, and in relation to Hippolytus, p. 36, n. 1 above.

how He suffered and died, and rose again the third day, and is at the right hand of the Father, and will come again to judge the quick and the dead."¹ Every one must recognise the well-known tones of the Creed, and notice their agreement with the parallel passages in their contemporary Irenæus and the younger Tertullian. But how is this to be explained? Certainly not by supposing that the three witnesses in their similar opposition to the heresy attacked by them should independently arrive at the same definitions of the

¹ Hippol. *c. Noet.* 1 (ed. Lagarde, p. 43, 20). Epiphanius (*haer.* 57, 1), who is entirely dependent on Hippolytus, must not be taken into consideration here. The date is approximately determined by Hippolytus, *refut.* ix. 7; Epigonus, the pupil of Noetus of Smyrna, spread this teaching in Rome. Kleomenes, the pupil of Epigonus, attained even greater success in Rome under Bishop Zephyrinus (199-217). Therefore Epigonus, like Praxeas, must have come to Rome in the time of Bishop Victor (189-199). (Compare my treatise, *Forschungen*, v. 47 ff.). The meaning of the words of the Presbyters of Smyrna, ταῦτα λέγομεν ἃ ἐμάθομεν, may be gathered by comparison with my quotation from Marcellus, p. 14. Among Eastern writers μάθημα was a common name for the baptismal Creed; cf. Caspari, i. 77 f., 83.

first article which was expressed differently in the Creed. For, to begin with, the heretical antithesis, in which the Smyrnæans reproduced portions of their Creed, was quite different to that in which Irenæus always, and Tertullian in many places, expressed themselves. The Smyrnæans disputed a doctrine which rests on the Unity of God, precisely the doctrine which is acknowledged by all Christians. Not only did they not deny this, but "for love of truth," as a later writer expresses it, allowed that this is indeed the confession of their Church, which they did not wish to deny. But we ought not to conclude from this, what Noetus inferred. Tertullian also, in a like antithesis, conceded that the Unity of God is the teaching of the Church's confession which is attacked by the adversary (*Prax.* 2 ; cf. 1). • If he elsewhere (*Praescr.* 13), and Irenæus everywhere, has formulated this article in the same way, although the antithesis to the Gnostics and to Marcion prevailed there, there can have been no reason for acknowledging the Unity of God in opposition, to

it. Moreover they had but small incentive of their own accord, and in a polemical interest, to accentuate their belief in the Unity of God in opposition to them. This confession would have touched them but little. The One God, in whom they wished to believe, was to them the Father of Jesus Christ. They denied only that this one true God of the Christians was also the Creator of the World and the God of the Old Testament, to whom they (though in many different degrees) refused honour and trust. Therefore it was not the confession of the Unity of God, but the declaration that the One God of the Christian Faith had also created the world and revealed Himself in the Old Testament, which was the witness of the Church against heretical Gnosticism. Irenæus and Tertullian were never weary of delivering this testimony. In their reproductions of the baptismal confession an addition referring to the One God regularly appears. But in reference to this addition the mode of expression is as varied as it is invariable with reference to that which

precedes it. It therefore follows that these additions, occasioned by the opposition to Gnosticism, but which were still foreign to the Roman Creed and the Creeds most nearly allied thereto, did not yet belong to the Creed in Lyons and Carthage from 180-210. To me it seems just as certain that the first article there, as in Smyrna, bore witness to the Unity of God; and, further, that this is a more primitive form of the Creed. This is proved first by the spreading of this form of the Creed, differing as it does from the Roman Creed, in Gaul, in Latin Africa, and in Asia Minor; that is, in Churches widely separated from one another, which had no relationship of direct dependence. Secondly, it follows from the fact that this form is quoted much earlier. While we cannot trace back the Roman form in this point earlier than 250, the confession of the One and Only God can be proved by witnesses from 180-210. Thirdly, the primitive character of this form can be proved directly by referring, in the first instance, to the African Church. In the African Creed of later

times the first article began with the words : Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem universorum creatorem, etc. Although we do not possess from the pen of Cyprian a complete reproduction of the African Creed of his time, still we may gather with certainty this much from his incomplete statements, that even then in Carthage the Unity of God was no longer confessed in the Creed as in Tertullian's time ; that in Cyprian's time the Carthaginian form agreed rather with the contemporary Roman and the later African.¹ It was therefore in Africa, in the interval between Tertullian's lapse into Montanism (c. 205) and Cyprian's episcopal rule (248-258) that "unum" or "unicum" was removed from the first article. This is also demonstrable for Rome. Otherwise we must believe the incredible—that the African Church which had received the Creed from Rome, and in the first period of her existence had confessed with the Roman Church "in deum patrem

¹ Cypr. *ep.* 69. 7, *ad Magnum* ; cf. Caspari, ii. 245-282 ; Hahn, pp. 29-35.

omnipotentem"; that later, in Tertullian's time, with the Churches of Lyons and Smyrna, she had confessed instead of this "in unum deum patrem omnipotentem"; that finally, before Cyprian's time and for ever after, she had returned to the first form, only slightly enlarging it by some additions. Lastly, Tertullian's book against Praxeas proves, on the contrary, that in Rome during the interval between 205 and 250 "unum" had been removed from the Creed. As in this work the Montanistic Presbyter of Carthage had the Christological movements within the Roman community since the days of Bishop Victor (189-199) specially in view, what he writes there holds good, particularly of the Roman community.¹ "The simple, not to say unintelligent and uncultivated, Christians, who always form the majority of the faithful, are affrighted at the word 'economy,' because the rule of faith itself leads away from the

¹ *Adv. Prax.* 3. Before this c. 1. proves that Praxeas appealed to a formula, and therefore to the Creed, to prove the Unity of God; "unicum dominum vindicat, omnipotentem mundi creatorem." Cf. *Praescr.* 36, quoted on p. 46n.

many gods of the world to the One true God, since they do not understand that we must believe God, not only as One, but also with His *Economy*"¹ (that is as the Triune). It could not be said more plainly that the laity of Rome, in opposition to the learning of theologians, who believed they could reconcile the Trinity in God with the Unity of God, appealed to the wording of their baptismal confession which witnessed in the first article to the Unity of God.

Hitherto I have avoided the question whether from about 180-210, in the Churches of which we have any information, the name of the Father was mentioned in the first article. Of the numerous formulas of faith belonging to the period and related to the Creed (referred to above, p. 46 note

¹ Tertullian retains the Greek scientific term which is unsatisfactorily translated by *dispensatio*. It points out not only the arrangements made by God for the salvation of mankind, but also the self-determined relations in the God-head, which underlie them, and through them come to light.

I, p. 48 note 1), eleven in Irenæus, four in Tertullian, and one from Smyrna, even if we include the less definite allusions only two, those first quoted from Irenæus contain the name of the Father. The weightiest are namely those passages which have the words *Θεὸν παντοκράτορα* together.¹ If in the Creeds of Irenæus and Tertullian *πατέρα* came between these words, the regular omission of this word would be incomprehensible. From another point of view Tertullian's declarations (*c. Prax.* 2), directed against the Patripassians, and the confession of the Smyrnæans, are of the utmost value in spite of their incompleteness. How glad the representatives of the Church would have been had they been able to say, in opposition to the Patripassians, that the One God whom they also acknowledged according to their Creed was not merely God, but also the Father as distinguished from the Son. Instead of this, Tertullian has first to

¹ Iren. i. 9, 2; 16, 3; 22, 1; iii. 3, 3; 11, 1; iv. 33, 7; Tert. *virg. vel.* 1. see above on p. 46, 1.

prove from the second article that the Father, whose Son is Jesus Christ, is mentioned in the first article. Lastly, we may gather that the name of the Father was not originally found in the first article from the fact that Θεὸς παντοκράτωρ is a Biblical and natural combination of ideas, which cannot be said of πατήρ παντοκράτωρ.¹ It may therefore be considered as

¹ Without counting the Old Testament, where, in numberless places, we may read Κύριος παντοκράτωρ sometimes with ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ following, and more than ten times ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Cf. Apoc. i. 8; 4. 18; 11. 17; 15. 3; 16. 7, 14; 19. 6, 15; 21. 22; Clem. i *Cor. inscr.* (ἀπὸ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ); 2. 3; 32. 4; 62. 2 (60. 4, Attribute of the Name of God, as also in Hermas, *vis.* iii. 3, 5); Polyc. *Philipp. inscr.* (παρὰ Θεοῦ παντοκράτορος); Just. *dial.* 16, 38, 83 (of the faith of converts from heathenism: ἐπὶ τὸν παντοκράτορα Θεὸν δι' αὐτοῦ [τοῦ Χριστοῦ] πιστεύειν), 96. 142; Montanus, in one of his Oracles (*Epiph. haer.* 48, 11); Theoph. *ad Autol.* i. 4; ii. 3. In literature before Irenæus I find only two passages which may be compared for this object: *Mart. Polycarpi*, c. 19, where, however, the text is uncertain; and Just. *dial.* 139; ὁ Χριστὸς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ παντοκράτορος πατρὸς δύναμιν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ παρεγένετο. It is plain how little this offers to compare with the formula in the Roman Creed. In one sentence, of which Christ has already been named as the subject, ὁ πατήρ means

proved that the Creed of the Gallican Church, the Churches of Asia Minor and Africa, and also of the Roman Church, which was the mother of the African, ran thus during the 2nd century: "I believe in One God, the Almighty."

This corresponds with the immediate object of the Creed as the lesson of the catechumen and the baptismal confession of the newly

"his Father." In both the passages in which Irenæus put the name of the Father between *Θεός* and *παντοκράτωρ* (i. 3, 6; 10, 1; see p. 46 *supra*, note 1), he still did not give the Roman form of the first article, for he retained the statement of the Unity of God which the Roman Creed had set aside. Hippolytus also had not yet the whole of the Roman formula before him, when he said, after a long exegetic argument (*c. Noetum*, c. 8): "So also Noetus even against his will, must acknowledge the Father who is Almighty God (*πατέρα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα*), and Jesus Christ, the Son of God, God who has become man, to whom the Father has made all things subject excepting Himself and the Holy Ghost, and that these (Persons) are three things." The original connection of ideas, *Θεός παντοκράτωρ*, is still maintained, as Marcellus also, probably intentionally, struck out the *πατέρα* which came between, and thereby restored the original reading. Cf. p. 29 *supra*, note 2.

converted. Those who turned from the many gods and dumb idols of heathenism to the living God and wished to confess their faith must be taught, above all, that there was only One true God, who had power over all things. So spake Jesus Himself and St. Paul¹ when they taught the truth that salvation was "for all flesh," for "all mankind."

The Shepherd of Hermas is a Roman writing, which, at the latest in the middle of the second century and probably as early as the year 100, had spread from Rome all over Christendom as a Book of Revelation. In the same way it begins the first of the Twelve Commandments, which it inculcates on all Christians, with the words: "Before all things thou must believe that there is One God, who created and prepared all things."²

¹ John 17. 2 f. ; 1 Tim. 2. 4 f.

² Hermas, *Mand.* i. 1, with an unmistakable reference to Mark 12. 28 f. cf. my *Shepherd of Hermas* ; p. 459. It is not without importance for the history of the

But it is also intelligible that about the beginning of the 3rd century it was found advisable in Rome to alter the original form and introduce the other instead of it: "I believe in God the Father Almighty." That was at the same time to subtract and to add, both of which were regarded by the Roman Church of the 4th century as a crime against the Creed.¹ But this principle has not always held good in Rome any more than elsewhere. Both earlier and later it has also been transgressed in Rome, in Gaul, in Africa, as well as in the East. Otherwise there would have been no history of the

Creed that this Mandate of Hermas should not only be very often quoted by those who lived after him, but that the second book of the Shepherd, beginning with this Mandate, should have been used in Alexandria as a manual and reading-book for the catechumens. Cf. my *Shepherd*, p. 38.

¹ Ambrose applies the sentence Apoc. 22. 18 to the Creed; cf. Caspari, ii. 56; iv. 219. So also speaks Bachiarus (Migne, 20 col. 1,035) with reference to his very free reproduction of the Creed. They always meant the faith contained in it even when they spoke of the letters of the formula.

development of the Creed. It is true and intelligible that the alterations consisted chiefly of additions ; but in the case in point we have to deal not only with a subtraction, but at the same time with an addition made in order to insure right understanding. In the times of the Roman Bishops Victor and Zephyrinus the heretics already mentioned made their appearance in Rome in rapid succession, and knew how to win over to themselves laity and bishops with varying success. Their views on the Person of Christ were quite antagonistic, but one and all they laid great stress on the Unity of God as expressed in the original Creed—they called it the Monarchy. If the God of the Church's confession is One, beside whom there is none other, either Christ, on whom the Christian's hope is fixed, is contained in this One and only God, God Himself died and there is no place, speaking strictly, for an "I" and a "Thou" between God and Jesus ; or else Christ is excluded from the one God, by the side of whom there is none

other. He is not God then, but essentially a man like other men, however highly we may rate the endowments which are his peculiar portion. An endeavour was made to ward off this double violation of the common faith, on the one hand by setting aside the testimony to the Unity of God in the first article, and on the other by taking into it the name of the Father. Those Monarchians in Rome were quite right in saying that, if not from the time of Bishop Victor (189-199), certainly from the time of his successor Zephyrinus (199-217), an alteration was made in the Creed of the Church after it had been expanded into a precise formula. The Italian and the African Churches copied the Roman in this alteration, and it appears that the African followed suit even before the time of Cyprian (248-258). The Asiatic Churches at least held firmly to the witness to the Unity of God. As for the rest it was an exaggeration when the Churches of the East were constantly accused in Rome of making arbitrary alterations

in the Creed. The Church of Carthage, for instance, was inferior to none of the Eastern Churches in this respect, when she, even before the middle of the 3rd century and from that time forward, acknowledged in the 3rd article: "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and an eternal life through the holy Church."¹ The teaching and confessing Church did not allow the right to be taken from her of upholding the old Creed at the height of usefulness as the baptismal confession of the Christian people by explanatory additions and slight rearrangements, in opposition to the dogmas constantly springing up which she believed she must spurn as perversions of the Christian faith. Whether she thus always and everywhere acted in the spirit of the early Church is not as yet the question.

On the other hand, our historical investiga-

¹ So word for word in Fulgentius (Caspari, ii. 256), but in substance it is found as early as Cyprian, *epist.* 69, 7 ; 70, 2.

tion may be carried with certainty some steps further back before the times of Irenæus, Noetus, and Tertullian. Tertullian says that the heretics Valentinus and Marcion once professed the Catholic faith in the Church of Rome during the episcopate of Eleutherus; but that afterwards, on account of their restless curiosity and their injurious influence on the community, they were excommunicated over and over again.¹ The mention of Bishop Eleutherus (175-189) in this connection arises from a momentary oversight of Tertullian. According to his other accounts and other trustworthy sources, Marcion's breach with the Roman Church occurred about the year 145. During Marcion's negotiations with the Roman clergy, which preceded his separation, he must have made a definite declaration of his faith. Like Marcellus two

¹ Tertull. *praescr.* 30. The uncertainty of the text in this passage need not be discussed here. On Marcion's letter see Tertull. *c. Marc.* i. 1; iv. 4; *de carne Christi*, 2; compare also Philaster, *haer.* 45; Epiph. *haer.* 42, 1, 2.

hundred years later, he must have professed the faith of this Church, in a letter, or in a declaration in the form of a letter, which would be entered in the archives of the Roman Church. Would that this letter could be brought to light again from the dust of the past! Judging by Tertullian's fragmentary references, Marcion must have acknowledged in this composition the elementary principles of the faith of the Roman Church. Did we possess it, we should be able to gather directly from it whether the Roman Church possessed a formulated confession as early as 145, and how it was worded. We must content ourselves, however, with indirect proofs. According to Tertullian, Marcion in that letter acknowledged the faith which had been handed down, by the reception and acceptance of which a man became a Christian; and Tertullian constantly speaks of this declaration of Marcion as though he had become a Christian in Rome at that time, and had then, as a candidate for baptism, in the presence of the community

acknowledged the faith which had once been delivered.¹ Tertullian knew that Marcion came from the province of Pontus in Asia Minor. He came to Rome as the son of one of its bishops, and as one who had been excommunicated by the same, and who therefore must have been already a baptized Christian. As his orthodoxy was called in question, Marcion must have been required in Rome to repeat his baptismal oath or to make such a confession as the candidates for baptism were accustomed to offer. That can only have been the Creed of the Roman Church of that time. With reference to one portion of it, authentic evidence may be drawn from the New Testament, which Marcion put together from the New Testament of the Church by the boldest critical operations, and offered to

¹ The following expressions appear to me specially decisive (*de carne*, 2): Mortuus es, qui non es Christianus, non credendo quod creditum (*al.* traditum) Christianos facit. Quod credidisti aliter, illud ita erat traditum. The words credidisti and traditum are incessantly repeated there.

his community. The mysterious passage Galatians 4. 24-26 was there remodelled in the most violent manner by the addition of words from Ephesians 1. 21, and otherwise. Of the two covenants we read there,¹ "The one from Mount Sinai, which is the synagogue of the Jews after the law, begotten into bondage; the other, which is exalted above all might, majesty, and power, and over every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; which (covenant) is the mother of us all, which begets us in the holy Church, which we have

¹ Cf. the reconstruction of the text in my *History of the Canon of the New Testament*, ii. 501, etc.; also 2 Cor. 7. 1; ii. 2, p. 515, and on Eph. 2. 21; 5. 19-31, pp. 523, 525f. Lately it has been shown that Marcion was less original in the formation of the text of Gal. 4. 24 than might have been supposed, as Ephraim the Syrian (*Comment. in epist. Pauli*, ed. Mechithar, 1893, p. 135; *Evang. cont. expos.*, ed. Moesinger, p. 34) has a very similar text, of which also a trace is to be found in Makarius (*hom.* 6, 7, ed. Pritius, p. 98). It follows that Marcion met with a Catholic text which spoke of a "Confession to the holy Church." But this appears to have contained *ὁμολογεῖν* or *συνομολογεῖν* not *ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι*. Cf. *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1893, p. 465; *The Guardian*, 1894, p. 700; R. Harris, *Four Lectures on the Western Text*, p. 96.

acknowledged (or to which we have vowed allegiance). Marcion does not say, or rather does not allow the Apostle to say, "which we acknowledge," but he looks back to the confession and the oath taken once for all with reference to the "holy Church." The word used here "repromittete," ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, describes such an oath, and had been used earlier by Ignatius of the oath taken on the confession of the Christian faith.¹ Cyril of Jerusalem constantly uses the expression "the oath of the faith"² when referring to the baptismal oath and baptismal confession. Marcion thought much of the Church as he understood her, and considered the Christian's relation to her a very close one. To him she was not only the Bride or Spouse of Christ, but every Christian ought to walk in the footsteps of Christ, and for the sake of the Church, to which he had sworn fealty, forsake father and mother and enter into no human earthly marriage. One might

¹ Ignatius, *Eph.* 14. 2. Cf. my *Ignatius of Antioch*, p. 590. For the use of ἐπαγγελία cf. *Const. apost.* ii. 41 *extr.*, and see further Caspari, i. 26, 63. ² ἐπαγγελία τῆς πίστεως.

read the same teaching in other portions of his edition of St. Paul's Epistles. As far as I can see it follows from the passages quoted from his Epistle to the Galatians that in Marcion's baptismal confession, and therefore in the Roman Creed of 145, the words "a holy Church" were contained, as they were also to be found in the Carthaginian Creed of 200, in the Roman Creed of 250-450,¹ and in all the creeds related to them. Even those who look upon the origin of the baptismal Creed as a mechanical stringing together of isolated articles will be obliged to decide from internal evidence that the article on "the holy Church" was one of the latest additions; that therefore the Creed, in which Marcion found "the holy Church" already inserted, must have been considerably older than Marcion in its original form. But, in any case, it follows that the creed of 145 must have had essentially the same form as that which we can trace from

¹ Cf. for ancient times Herm. *vis.*, i. 1, 6; 3, 4; iv. 1, 3; further, Hippolyt. *c. Noetum* (ed. Lagarde, p. 57, 17).

the year 170 onwards, with more or less important variations.

The literary activity of Justin Martyr was contemporaneous with Marcion's labours in Rome. He was converted to the Christian faith in 130 at Ephesus, and he received baptism there ; but it was in Rome, in 150, that he wrote his great Apology as well as its Appendix, the so-called second Apology, and a little later his dialogue with the Jew Trypho.¹ If Justin received and acknowledged a fixed confession on the occasion of his baptism, this must have been the baptismal confession not of Rome but of Ephesus. And wherever Justin describes the doctrines and customs of the Christians he never suggests in the slightest degree that he is thinking of an isolated community, and not rather of Christianity as he knew it from his own experience. This supposi-

¹ With reference to his biography may I call attention to my studies in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, viii. 37-66 ; and with reference to the baptismal oath to what follows on pp. 66-84.

tion cannot be verified by the latest discoveries. Justin only directly bears witness to the usual baptismal creed of that time, in that he twice says that the catechumens were baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (*apol.* i. 61). But the fact that he adds the words "crucified under Pontius Pilate" after the name of Jesus Christ in the second passage must remain unexplained if we do not assume that this statement was regularly added at that time at baptisms after the name of Christ. For, in the first place, Justin is not engaged here as in other places (*apol.* i. 13, 40-46), where he refers to Pontius Pilate, in giving to heathen readers a comprehensible and credible historical instruction on the person and history of the Saviour, but solely with a description of the rite of baptism. Secondly, this statement is contained in exactly the same words in the other oldest form of the baptismal Creed to which we can refer.¹ Further,

¹ In Justin, *apol.* i. 13, 61, τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου; just so in reference to the arrangement of the

that for Justin these words formed a constituent part of a fixed formula may be proved by the fact that, not only when he refers to baptism, but also in an historical investigation of the nature and origin of Christianity, he uses them, when necessary, in exactly the same connection as when referring to the baptismal formula, "Jesus Christ crucified under Pontius Pilate" (*apol.* i, 13). These words in this connection had impressed themselves on Justin's memory as a formula. The following evidence is still stronger. Not less than three times—and, if we do not keep strictly to the letter, four times—Justin says that the Christians in Rome and in the whole world have healed and still heal many people possessed with evil spirits with the adjuration, "by the name of Jesus Christ, the crucified under Pontius Pilate."¹

words in Irenæus, ii. 32, 4 ; iii. 4, 2, and in Tertullian, *virg. vel.* i ; in the Roman Creed, according to Aethelstan's Psalter, and according to Marcellus τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα.

¹ *Apol.* ii. 6 (Otto, p. 216). On this passage is founded the above argument. But the same formula reappears in a

If we are unwilling to adopt the inconceivable view that the sentence which we are considering in all the baptismal Creeds of Tertullian and Irenæus was derived from the anathema of Justin's time, then we must allow, on the other hand, that the anathema was derived from the baptismal confession in use in the time of Justin. This application of a sentence of the baptismal confession in the so-called exorcisms, and indeed the regular application of it "in the whole world and in Rome," presupposes that the baptismal confession, of which the sentence in question forms a constituent part, must have been known everywhere for a long time, and therefore must have originated long before the middle of the

similar connection in *dial.* 30, only it is augmented by an addition, and yet more richly expanded in *dial.* 85. Also in *dial.* 76, where it is said, "And now if we trust in one Lord Jesus Christ crucified under Pontius Pilate, all demons and evil spirits are subject unto us when adjured." Also in *dial.* 49 *extr.* there is a shorter notice. The comparison with Iren. ii. 32. 4 f. shows that this did not refer to a peculiarity of Justin or the custom of a small church circle.

2nd century. We can easily explain why this particular sentence out of the baptismal confession was used in exorcisms. The sign of the cross was made over the sick, and the symbolical action was explained or strengthened by this suitable sentence from the baptismal confession. We cannot now exactly determine the wording of the confession which Justin received, and to which he bore witness in Ephesus in 130. A baptismal formula and a baptismal confession are not the same thing. Tertullian tells us, and it is self-evident, that the confession was known to the candidates, having been communicated to them some time before their baptism, impressed on their memories, and repeated by them in the so-called "Traditio" and "Redditio symboli." We also learn from Justin that a declaration of the faithful acceptance of the Christian truth of salvation, and a promise to live in accordance with that faith, preceded the day of baptism.¹ We

¹ *Apol.* i. 61, 65. Cf. p. 70 f. of the treatise quoted, p. 69, n. 1.

know further, from later times, that in the baptismal service, in the baptismal questions which the candidates had to answer, use was very often made of a shortened formula. This most certainly holds good of the use of the baptismal confession as an interdict. In spite of these circumstances, which increase the difficulty, something more may be said with tolerable certainty about the contents of Justin's baptismal confession than that it contained the names of God the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost in this order, and that the words "Jesus Christ crucified under Pontius Pilate" were also contained in it. When he is speaking of the conversion of the heathen to Christianity, Justin describes this as a forsaking of demons and heathen gods, and as the growth of a faith in Almighty God wrought by the word of Christ. Moreover, he makes very constant use of this attribute of God.¹ We may therefore point to it

¹ Cf. above, p. 56, n. 1. It is striking that this (term) *παντοκράτωρ*, which sounds so like the Old Testament, is

as highly probable that this word was already contained in the first article. If it is once proved that Justin's baptismal Creed, not only with reference to its Trinitarian model, but also with reference to single words and the order of words, was identical with the complete baptismal confession in question, then short epitomes of the principal facts of the Gospel history, which are quite similar in form to the later creeds, are a tolerably certain proof that they, or similar ones such as Justin quotes, were contained in the baptismal Creed of Ephesus in the year 130. Without noticing the smaller pieces, there are in Justin's writings no less than six of these strings of pearls, formed of short sentences, which correspond to the second article of the Creed.¹ Four of them show exactly, and two at least

only to be found in the dialogue with the Jew, and that in both the paraphrases of the baptismal formula, *Apol.* i. 61, in the place where we should expect it, we find instead "Father and Lord of all."

¹ *Apol.* i. 21, 31, 42, 46 ; *dial.* 85, 132.

partially,¹ the same participial form which they have in the Creed. One of them runs thus: "The Jesus, whom we have acknowledged as the Christ, the Son of God, crucified and risen and ascended into heaven, and ready to come again solely as Judge of all men to Adam." Another runs thus: "Born of a Virgin, and become a man capable of suffering, and crucified under Pontius Pilate by your (the Jewish) people, and dead, and risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven." In five of these six passages between the words "crucified" (with or without Pontius Pilate) and "risen from the dead" we find the word "dead." Again, in four other passages this word "dead" is found in the same place.² Is it not at least highly probable that this word "dead," which is very uncommon in old baptismal confessions before it found its place for good in the later Apostles' Creed between

¹ The last refers to *Apol.* 42, 46. The passages translated in the text are to be found in *dial.* 85, 132.

² *Apol.* i. 63; *dial.* 63, 74, 95. It is wanting only in *dial.* 132 in the two passages quoted, p. 75, n. 1.

the Crucifixion and the Burial, had formed a part of Justin's baptismal confession, that is, of the Church of Ephesus in 130? Smyrna lies near enough to Ephesus. Was it accidental that the Presbyters of Smyrna, who in opposition to Noetus witnessed to the faith which he had once learned from them, should have said, according to Hippolytus,¹ "Suffered, dead, risen again the third day," and so on? But these are questions which we can all answer differently according to our inclination and temperament. On the other hand, it is certain that the baptismal confession, which in its essential features is identical with that which Justin learnt at Ephesus in 130 and Marcion acknowledged at Rome in 145, must have originated somewhere at the latest about 120.

¹ Hippol. ed. Lagarde, p. 43, 28. Also in the short recension of the teaching of Noetus, p. 43, 14, we find "born, suffered, and died." Beside these I only know of the reproduction of the baptismal Creed in *Const. Apost.* vii. 41, ed. Lagarde, p. 225, 10. Also Ignat. *Trall.* 9 may be compared. On Tertullian see above, p. 44, n. 1.

The contents of the Creed, as the following examination will show once more, give no ground for supposing it to have come into existence later than 120, but rather allow of its being referred back to the 1st century, even to the lifetime of St. Peter and St. Paul. But the earliest writings give us no data for historical statements owing to the meagreness of their wording. The difficulty is increased by the want of agreement amongst learned men as to the date of the composition of many of the writings, which must be taken into consideration—the Epistles to Timothy, the Ignatian Epistles, and the “Teaching of the Apostles,” though the latter can only be looked upon as a negative witness. In spite of this a few unassuming remarks may be allowed. The absence of any reference to the baptismal confession is one of the many disappointments which the recent rediscovery of the “Teaching of the Twelve Apostles” had in store for us. The “Teaching of the Apostles” speaks only of an oath concerning the manner of life

after baptism. The heathen, who is admitted, is at the time of his baptism to hear once more all that Jesus commanded his disciples, and all that He told them to teach all people.¹ He must promise to observe these commands as much as lies in his power from that time forward. He is to turn for ever from the way of death and to enter upon the way of life. Only extreme folly could come to the conclusion that in the circles from which this Church manual came baptism would be administered without a definite confession of faith on the part of the baptized. If it were so, we should have to draw the absurd inference that the instruction given before baptism was solely of a moral character, and had nothing to do with the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost in which the baptism was performed, according to the twice-repeated directions in the "Teaching of the Apostles." This book, with deliberate

¹ Matt. 28. 20. Cf. my treatise in the *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengesch.* viii. 74, 83.

intention, gives only fragmentary directions with reference to baptism, as with reference to the Lord's Supper. For example, the service of Holy Communion itself is not described at all. Only forms of prayer are given which are to be used before and during the celebration. Already at the time of St. Paul's first missionary journey, that the candidate for baptism was accustomed to offer a confession of faith when he received baptism—was borne witness to by St. Paul himself, superfluously, for it is self-evident. He reminds Timothy of the beautiful confession he once made before the assembled community when he followed the call to eternal life.¹ But it is a question whether this confession was already for-

¹ 1 Tim. 6. 12. Cf. Hofmann on this passage, *N.T.* vi. 195 f. As 1 Tim. 4. 14 and 2 Tim. 1. 6 point to the entrance of Timothy into missionary service (Acts 16. 1-3), so our passage points to the assumed conversion of Timothy to the Christian faith, which took place during St. Paul's first sojourn in that district (Acts 14. 6). That a confession of faith, however short, appeared indispensable before baptism is shown by Acts 8. 37, an enlargement of the text in existence before Irenæus.

mulated; and if this was the case, whether that formula was already essentially the same as that which we can trace back with comparative certainty to the times of Justin and Marcion. Perhaps the first question may be answered in the affirmative and the second in the negative. But the first question is justified, and therefore also the second.

It is certain that in the Church of the Apostles' time much more scope was attributed to the Spirit, who was always recreating its expression, than in the old Catholic Church. Indeed the multiplication of original records dating after the Apostles, which we have lived to see, has shown us that much earlier than we had dared to suppose, and uninjured by the free working of the Spirit, liturgical forms had assumed definite outlines. The "Teaching of the Apostles" declares plainly that the prophets in the community may offer up as many prayers as they like at the celebration of the Holy Communion. Yet prayers for the Holy Communion are given, which

are to be used generally as they stand in the book, and indeed such prayers as were evidently not the composition of the editor, but date apparently from the Apostles' time in the Church of Palestine.¹ Again "the oldest Church prayer," in the last discovered fragment of the first Epistle of Clement, is so closely related to Jewish and Christian forms of prayer that it cannot be regarded as completely original by the writer of the letter.² It rests on forms and formulas which were already in use. Surely it would be more natural to give the baptismal confession and baptismal oath a definite, regular form, which was always to be used, than to prescribe liturgical forms of prayer of considerable length. Whether this had been already done at the time of Timothy's baptism depends upon exegetical con-

¹ *Teaching of the Apostles*, 9. 10. Compare my *Hist. of the Canon*, i. 909, etc.

² Clement, *1 Cor.* 59. 61. Cf. Lightfoot, *St. Clement*, i. 384, etc.; also my remarks in the *Zeitschrift f. Prot. u. Kirche*, lxxii. (1876), pp. 197-202.

siderations, and it is always especially difficult to win for such universal acceptance. To me the association of ideas in 1 Timothy 6. 11, etc., only appears natural on the supposition that the confession, which Timothy had once made before many witnesses, contained the facts laid before him by St. Paul of the revelation of the truth and the history of Redemption. Mention must have been made in it of the God who calls all into life, and who upholds all in life, and of Jesus Christ who once stood before Pontius Pilate, and of the future reappearing of Christ. But as certainly as the *ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου* reminds one of the like words in nearly all the baptismal creeds as little does the rest agree with any of the known forms of the Creed.

Further, a natural explanation of 2 Timothy 2. 8 does not seem possible to me if we may not assume that the words "of the seed of David," and "raised from the dead," belonged to a formula of which St. Paul desired to remind Timothy. From the context of the explan-

ation in that passage, and from the opposition to the heretics (2 Timothy 2. 17), no conceivable motive can be imagined for the mention of the Davidic descent. On the contrary, St. Paul, immediately before this, reminds his son Timothy, whom he had converted to the faith, of the instruction given him, and of definite words which he had imparted to him "in the presence of many witnesses." These words were to be to him an outline, a sketch of wholesome doctrine, which he was not to impart to all indiscriminately, but to trustworthy people, as St. Paul had intrusted it to him. As a teacher he is to be ever reminding them of these most elementary principles.¹ In my opinion the mention of many witnesses in 2 Timothy 2. 2 obliges every one, who understands 1 Timothy 6. 12 to refer to a confession of faith in connection with Timothy's baptism,

¹ I take 2 Tim. 1. 13, 14 ; 2. 1, 2, 8, 14 together, and consider it certain that *μνημόνευε* 2, 8 is to be understood like *ὑπομύνησκε* 2, 14, *i.e.* "bring to remembrance, refer to (diligently)."

to find here a solemn declaration of this confession. If the anachronism may be allowed, I should say here "traditio," there "reditio symboli." Yet a third passage must be taken into consideration. St. Paul reminds Timothy (2 Tim. 3. 10 ff.), in a very vivid and condensed description, of the days of the first missionary journey of which Timothy's conversion was one of the fruits. St. Paul first became known to him as a missionary who had been driven from Antioch in Pisidia and Iconium, and who arrived at Lystra having incurred the greatest danger. Timothy is to hold fast that which he had then learnt from him, by means of which he had come to a living faith. The reading of the Holy Scriptures, in which he had been initiated before his conversion to the Christian faith by his Jewish mother and his pious grandmother, would strengthen him in these lessons and articles of the faith. If, then, St. Paul, taking his stand on this, just as in 1 Timothy 6. 13, where he had reminded him of his baptismal confession, adjures Timothy by God and by

Christ to witness assiduously to his faith as a teacher (2 Tim. 4. 1), is it not again highly probable that he would also remind him, here as there by the choice of his words, of the short epitome of that which he had then learnt and which had been professed by him as his faith? Here as there St. Paul reminds him first of God, then of Christ, here as there, and indeed with the very same word (*ἐπιφανεῖα*) of the return of Christ. Above all, he mentions the immediate cause of Christ's return in words which are essentially the same in all forms of the Creed. They also recur from the earliest times with formal regularity in the oldest Christian literature.¹ "Christ Jesus, who is on the point of coming, or will come, to judge the quick and the dead." If this is not all deceptive appearance, it must be taken as proved that the confession which Timothy made at his baptism before many witnesses referred first to God the Author of all life;

¹ Acts 10. 42; 1 Pet. 4. 5; Polyc. *Philipp.* 2, 1; Barnabas, 7, 2; Clement, 2 *Cor.* 1. 1.

secondly, to Jesus Christ ; and that it described Him as "descended from David's seed,"¹ who stood "before Pontius Pilate," "was raised from the dead," who will some day "appear" again "to judge the quick and the dead."²

Ignatius also seems to take this for granted in a formula which in many characteristic points agrees with this formula, the refrain, as it were, of the Epistles to Timothy. It differs like this in a very marked way from the later forms of the Creed. It speaks of a vow to keep the faith, which is at the same time an oath to belong to

¹ Cf. the connection of the Davidic descent with the Resurrection, Rom. 1. 3 f. with 2 Tim. 2. 8.

² Nothing definite can be said about a third article. But it seems significant that the Holy Ghost is thought of, as in 1 Cor. 6. 10, where there is certainly a reference to baptism, and also in the context of 2 Tim. 1. 14, which I have discussed above ; cf. Tit. 3. 5 and the Trinitarian formulas like 2 Cor. 13. 14. In any case the Didache shows that no conclusions can be drawn against a Trinitarian baptismal formula and a similar baptismal creed from the special emphasis laid on the relation of baptism to Christ (Rom. 6. 3 ; Gal. 3. 27). It uses both modes of expression close together c. 7. 9.

Christ.¹ There are not a few passages in his letters which bear considerable resemblance to the free representations of the baptismal Creed in Irenæus and Tertullian. Only they confine themselves to the second article, and opposition to a heresy, which dissolved the whole gospel history into semblances, determines the various reproductions of the Church's confession given in Ignatius. Of the three passages where this has most weight, two have word for word, as in the Creed, "under Pontius Pilate," the third an equivalent expression.² The first two passages

¹ *Eph.* 14, 2, οὐδεὶς πίστιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος . . . οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι (see above, p. 67, n. 1).

² *Trall.* 9: "Be deaf to every one who speaks to you otherwise than of Jesus Christ that He was of David's seed (descended) from Mary, was truly born, ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died, while the inhabitants of heaven and earth and under the earth looked on; who also was truly raised from the dead, for His Father raised Him." *Smyrn.* i.: The description of the happy religious state in which Ignatius had found the Church in Smyrna is thus worded: "Full of faith in our Lord, who was truly descended from David's seed according to the flesh, the Son

have also "of David's race," and this is repeated in other places where the reference to the Davidic descent of Jesus, quite as little as everywhere else in Ignatius, can find its natural explanation in the context, or from the constant opposition to the heresy which Ignatius disputed. It is possible to ignore these observations; but it is highly probable nevertheless that in Ignatius' baptismal Creed these words "of David's race,"¹

of God according to the power and will of God, truly born of the Virgin, baptized by John, that all righteousness might be fulfilled in Him, truly nailed to the cross in the flesh for us under Pontius Pilate and the Tetrarch Herod." In chaps. 2 and 3, after various parenthetical remarks, the resurrection of Christ in the body is first brought out. In *Magn.* 11, it is shorter; but again, as in *Trall.* 9, in pronounced opposition to the seductive heresy: "That you may believe fully in the birth and suffering and resurrection, which occurred in the time of the governorship of Pontius Pilate, and was really and faithfully fulfilled by Jesus Christ our hope."

¹ *Eph.* 18: "Our God Jesus Christ was born of the body of Mary according to the decree of God, of the seed of David indeed, but of the Holy Ghost, who was born and baptized that He might (afterwards) consecrate through His suffering the water (of baptism)." *Eph.* 20: "In Jesus

also the name of "the Virgin Mary,"¹ "crucified and suffered under Pontius Pilate" were contained among others. Ignatius was Bishop of Antioch, and St. Paul went forth as a missionary from Antioch when he visited the Lycaonian towns where he baptized Timothy. The custom of mentioning Jesus' Davidic descent in the baptismal confession, which was still preserved in the time of Ignatius, that is, in the time of the Emperor Trajan, dates from the beginning of this mission. What could have been more natural at a time when the gospel was preached first and foremost to the Jews, and a beginning had only just been made of bringing the gospel to the heathen? If there is any value in these last considerations we may assume that already at the

Christ, who after the flesh is of the seed of David, the Son of man and the Son of God." *Rom. 7*: "I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, (descending) from the seed of David."

¹ This also in *Eph. 7. 2* in a Creed which otherwise only comprises the antitheses of the Divine and Human in Christ.

time of St. Paul's missionary journeys, there must have been a baptismal confession more or less definitely formulated in Antioch and in the districts to which the Antiochian mission was sent. Judging from the notices in question, it must have agreed with the Creed, which in its main outline we have been able to trace back to Marcion and Justin with reference to the essential contents of the second article, as also with reference to isolated expressions, such as "under Pontius Pilate." But it also differed from it again in a remarkable way in that it contained "of David's race," or "of David's seed," which is wanting in all the other varying forms of the baptismal Creed without exception. This is to take for granted that the Creed of Ephesus of about 130, which was also the Creed of Rome about 145, originated somewhere and at some time or other in the reconstruction of the baptismal confession of Pauline times. It is impossible now to decide whether this took place in Ephesus or in Rome, or in some third place. The speedy and uni-

versal spread of the Creed in the altered form proves only that it must have assumed that form at some focus of Church life, and that from thence it was spread abroad. Rome was such a focus at the end of the first century. Clement's letter to the Corinthians, the early dissemination of that letter beyond the circle for which it was primarily intended; the circulation of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, which had been composed in Rome, among the outlying cities, and the great reputation which this book had early won in Alexandria as well as in Lyons and Carthage; the praise which Ignatius lavished on the Roman Church, probably with special reference to the writings which had issued from Rome;¹—all these things

¹ Ignatius, *Rom.* 3: "You have never led any one astray, you have taught others. But I wish to have that also fixed which you as teachers demand of your scholars (*μαθητεύοντες*).\" Some notices in *Hermas* and Clement suggest the Roman origin of the Creed, which was already widely circulated in 130 (see above, p. 58 n. 2, p. 68 n. 1; below, p. 173 n. 1). They do not amount to proofs. As little do philological observations. The description of the position of *τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ* before *ἀναστάντα* in the second article

make it appear not improbable that the recension of the baptismal Creed to which all the later forms refer as to a common root, must have proceeded from the capital of the Empire in the interval between the years 90 and 120. But proofs cannot be given. The Church of Ephesus was another focus of Church life during the time

as a Latinism is misleading (Caspari, iii. 140). A Greek can put the date prominently forward as well as a Latin writer if he wishes to emphasize it. This occurs in the New Testament chiefly where the Resurrection is spoken of (Matt. 16. 21; 17. 23; 20. 19; 27. 63; Luke 9. 22; 18. 33; 24. 7; John 2. 19), and also frequently enough elsewhere (Matt. 26. 61; 27. 40; Luke 12. 20; 13. 7; 23. 43). On the other hand, Latin writers occasionally place *tertia die* after *resurrexit*; cf. Caspari, iii. 70-75. If the Greek Creeds and the Greek reproductions of such a Creed, like those of the Presbyters of Smyrna, regularly place "on the third day" last, it remains a question whether they have preserved the original, which was then altered in Rome under the predominating influence of New Testament modes of speech; or whether the emphasized precedence (of "*on the third day*") was the original, which was supplanted in the West by its less sharply accentuated position (cf. 1 Cor. 15. 4). Nothing can be learnt from this of the original home of the Faith known to Marcion and Justin.

we have been considering. Irenæus iii. 2, 4 calls her, and the neighbouring community in Smyrna, "this faithful witness of apostolical tradition." The wide reputation which these Churches and their bishops possessed is proved by the letters of Ignatius to the Ephesians and Smyrnæans, and that of Polycarp to the Philippians which we possess, and the letters of Polycarp, no longer existing, to foreign communities and private individuals mentioned by his pupil Irenæus; last, not least, the account which Irenæus gives of Polycarp's visit to Rome. But proof cannot be given of the origin of the Creed, of which the archetype may be recognised by its characteristic features in Justin and Marcion, in the Church of Asia Minor.¹ We must not conclude that be-

¹ I should also in this connection lay no weight on single words. The Old Testament *παντοκράτωρ* was just as well known to Clement of Rome as to the John of the Apocalypse (see p. 56 n. 1). The words of the Roman Creed of the Fourth century, *τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ*, sound like a quotation from John 3. 16, and remind one in general of the Johannine mode of speech. But this might exert

cause Ignatius possessed an older formula, therefore the younger came into existence after his time. It may have been used in Ephesus for decades before it was accepted in Antioch. The reconstruction—that is, first of all, the omission of the phrase “of David’s seed”—so far as we can trace it back with any probability, is easily explained. It must have been a similar case to

influence wherever the Fourth Gospel was known. Besides, we do not know from what period *μονογενής* (*unicus*) was to be found in the 2nd article. It is wanting in the formal reproductions of the Creed in Irenæus, Tertullian, the Presbyters of Smyrna, as in Justin, though all these men knew how to speak elsewhere of Christ as the Only-begotten; for instance, Justin, *dial.* 105, and the fragment of Irenæus, iv. 6, 2. It is also wanting in many of the Creeds of later times which have been more accurately preserved: for instance, in many of the notices of the African Creed (Hahn, pp. 31, 32, 34, §§ 30, 31, 33); in the Creed of Nicetas of Romatiana (Caspari, *Anecdota*, pp. 345–354), and in that of Faustus of Riez (Caspari, ii. 205). It is also wanting, though seldom, in some of the Eastern Creeds (Hahn, p. 61). It is therefore probable that it first crept into the recension of the Roman Creed made in the time of Zephyrinus, and independently into most of the Eastern Creeds.

the Maranatha in the Service of the Holy Communion. Although really this formula was only quite suitable in Palestine, the country of bilingual Jewish Christianity, in which it had arisen, yet at first it passed over, as "The Teaching of the Apostles" shows, into use among Christian communities formerly heathen and purely Greek. After a time, however, it vanished for ever from the liturgy of the Greek Church. The confession of Jesus the Messiah, of David's seed, was the natural form for the time when the gospel was chiefly preached to the Jews, who were looking for the Son of David. When the purely Gentile character of Christian communities, such as Ephesus and Rome, became more decided, it was more natural to leave out the mention of the Davidic descent of Jesus, and to include in the short formula in its stead other, for the heathen more important, facts, or to lay more stress on them so far as they were already contained in the Creed.

We have seen that the Apostles' Creed, which

we profess to this day, has had an historical development extending over many hundred years. We will once more briefly recapitulate the probable course of that history. The Creed has its roots in Christ's command to baptize. Against the authenticity of that command no historical reasons worthy of consideration have been brought forward. It was necessary that the newly converted should confess their faith, both before and at the time of their Baptism. On this condition they were baptized, and out of the baptismal formula grew a baptismal confession, which had already assumed a more or less stereotyped form in early Apostolic times. At a somewhat later period, somewhere between 70-120, the original formula, which reminds us of the Jewish origin of Christianity, was reconstructed. Thus it appeared better suited to the needs of the baptized, who mostly came out of heathendom. This altered formula was very soon widely known. We find it at Ephesus in 130, at Rome in 145, and again between 180-210 at Carthage, Lyons,

and Smyrna. It also forms the groundwork of all the later baptismal confessions of the Eastern Churches.¹ Between the years 200-220, the

¹ Our information about the Creed of Alexandria is particularly scanty. What Caspari (*Zeitschr. für kirchl. Wissensch.* 1886, pp. 352-375) has said about the baptismal Creed of Clement needs fuller treatment. On the symbol of Antioch cf. Caspari, i. 73-99; Hahn, p. 64 f. Besides the defective narratives belonging to a later period, which are there discussed, these passages in the Didascalia (preserved to us only in Syriac, the basis of the Apostolic Constitutions), which resemble a creed, must be reckoned as witnesses of an older period. It was originally a Greek work, and saw the light in Antioch, or not far off, in the 3rd century, perhaps even during the first half; cf. Funk, *Die Apost. Const.*, pp. 50-55. Apart from the doxology at the end of the Didascalia (Lagarde, p. 120 f.) special attention should be paid to the shorter but, in a certain sense, more complete formula, p. 81, 14 ff., and a third passage, p. 102, 5 ff., about which there will be something more to say at the end of this treatise. For the first article the constant use of the form *Θεὸς παντοκράτωρ* (p. 36, 21; 81, 8; 94, 3; 101, 16; 102, 8; 106, 8; 121, 7) is characteristic. Sometimes "the Lord" precedes it (p. 37, 23; 81, 15). We never read *Θεὸς πατὴρ παντοκράτωρ*, for the word "Father" on p. 102, 8 has been inserted by a second hand. The passage 1, 8 ("you who have taken the liberty of calling God the Almighty Father") does not belong here. Also there is no emphasis laid on the Unity

first article was slightly altered in Rome (for the reasons mentioned on pp. 40-62, above). This altered form was adopted by the Churches of Italy, of Africa, and probably also of the South of France. For many generations the Roman Church, and a few Churches closely united to Rome, held strictly to this form, which had been published in Rome early in the 3rd century. In all the other Churches the Creed was thenceforward developed with considerable freedom. In the East, where the Roman recension of 200-220 could not find an entrance, its course was other than in the West, in Carthage other than in Aquileia. The inner and outer factors, which determined these provincial developments, and the exchanges between the different Churches are for the most part unknown

or Oneness of God. For the 2nd article note p. 85, 3; 87, 25; for the 3rd article p. 85, 4 ("the holy Church of God"), cf. p. 1, 4; 60, 16; 101, 28; 106, 11, 29 ("the Catholic Church"), and p. 55, 28; 106, 24, where both attributes of the Church are combined in a varying order.

to history. The Gallican Church of the 3rd and 4th centuries especially lies for us in utter darkness with regard to this as to many other points.¹ And yet it seems that it was in that very South Gallican Church during the 5th century that the revision of the Creed, which was to spread all over the West and supersede all the other forms, took its final impress.

Reviewing the whole argument, we may conclude that the legend that the Apostles, before the beginning of their missionary journeys, com-

¹ Hilary of Poitiers, who praises the baptismal Creed so highly, has (so far as I know) never reproduced that of his own Church. Moreover, on account of the geographical position of Poitiers, such a narrative would not be an authentic witness for the district of Arles, Marseilles, Riez. The same objection may be applied to the *Libellus fidei* of Phœbadius or Fögadius of Agen, in Aquitania (Migne 20 col. 50) which contains none of the characteristic features of the later Apostles' Creed. Also a more exact investigation of its origin is needed. Alas! the *septem "De fide et regulis fidei" libri* of Syagrius (Gennadius, v. ill. 66), as distinguished from his book *De fide*, which Gennadius has previously described, has not come down to us.

posed the Creed which was called after them, contains more historical truth and wisdom than the assertion that the Apostles' Creed was a production of the 5th or 6th century.

Part II
THE ARTICLES

PART II

THE ARTICLES

An attempt to investigate thoroughly the contents of the Creed, and to estimate its full value would far exceed the limits assigned to this pamphlet and the strength which I have at my disposal. But a discussion may be of some use, though it does not pretend to be perfect, which compares with the separate articles of the Creed, the old Church doctrines, and the testimony of the New Testament. I shall place first the separate sentences as they are to be found in the received Latin text, which corresponds to the Latin edition of the Book of Concords of 1584, and to the Roman catechism of 1566. Next to it I shall place the German text given three times in the German Book of Concords of 1580, at the head of the collection under the title "The Three

Chief Concords or Confessions of the Faith of Christ, as used unanimously by the Churches." It forms a constituent part of Luther's two catechisms.¹ Below I shall quote some other forms of the Creed to illustrate its development:—*Rom.* = the Greek text of the Roman Creed between the years 220-450; *Aquil.* = the Creed of Aquileia according to Rufinus; *Afr.* = the Creed of the African Church as it already existed in substance in Cyprian, first completely in Augustine, in several pseudo-Augustinian sermons, and in Fulgentius of Ruspe²; *Jerus.* = the Creed of Jerusalem according to a fragment of the Liturgy of James and the Catecheses of

¹ I quote the Latin and the German *Book of Concords* by J. T. Müller, *Die symb. Bücher der ev.-luth. Kirche* (1848), p. 28; the *Catechismus Romanus*, in the first book of which the Creed is not found in a connected form, but in detached portions, from *Libri symbolici ecclesiae romano-catholicae*, ed. Danz (1836), p. 367 ff. In the catechisms, the German Book of Concords (Müller, p. 357, 450) has "God the Father Almighty" (for "God Father Almighty"); in the second article the smaller catechism shows some variations of style.

² Cf. Caspari, ii. 245-282, esp. p. 253 f.; Hahn, pp. 29-35.

Cyril¹; *Ant.* = the Creed of Antioch according to Cassian's Latin translation and a Greek fragment.²

I.

Credo in Deum patrem I believe in God the
omnipotentem, creatorem Father Almighty, Maker of
coeli et terrae. heaven and earth.

Rom.: πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα.—*Aqu.*:
Credo in Deo patre omnipotente, invisibili et impassibili.—
Afr.: Credo (or credimus) in Deum patrem omnipotentem,

¹ The Liturgy of James from Morel's text in Daniel, *Codex liturg.*, iv. 99. Although the Creed, immediately after the beginning of the second article, breaks off with the words καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τοῦ συμβόλου τῆς πίστεως, it can be distinguished as differing from the Creed of Cyril and from the Nicene Creed. The fact that in four MSS. printed by Swainson (*The Greek Liturgies* (1884) p. 244 f.) the Creed is shrivelled up to the words πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα Θεόν, with the further addition in one MS. of πατέρα παντοκράτορα, is of little or no importance. The Creed was plainly very old (Caspari, iii. 200) and had long been out of date when those MSS. were written, and was for the most part so much curtailed by copyists that any favourite form of Creed served as a continuation. Caspari has discussed the baptismal Creed of Cyril in his Norwegian *Historisk-Kritiske Afhandlinger* (1881), p. 95-277.

² Cassianus *c. Nestorium*, vi. 3 ff. (opp. ed. Petschenig, i. 327 ff.) and Caspari, i. 73-99; but cf. also p. 98, n. 1, *supra*.

universorum creatorem, regem saeculorum, immortalem et invisibilem.—*Jerus.* : πιστεύω (or πιστεύομεν) εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς.¹—*Antioch.* : Credo in unum et solum verum Deum, patrem omnipotentem, creatorem omnium visibilium et invisibilium creaturarum.

I assume that it has been proved (on pp. 45 ff.) that not one of these forms of article 1 was the original. Much more probably it was πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα without any addition. It was in the beginning of the 3rd century that the first words of the Western Creeds, including our own, were formulated in Rome and spread from thence throughout the West. We must give the Oriental Churches credit for having consistently preserved the confession of the Unity of God, in part with accentuated expression,² and for their tenacious holding

¹ Only so much in the Liturgy of James. Cyril adds ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων.

² Rufinus (*Expos. Symb.* 4, 5) speaks only of "almost all Eastern Churches" as having the *unum* in the 1st and 2nd articles. This limitation may refer to the fact that it was frequently wanting in the 2nd article of Oriental Creeds;

to the original. No words need be wasted in discussing the usefulness of the original formula for new converts from heathenism, and of its agreement with the teaching of Jesus and the Apostles.¹ Must we therefore blame the Roman and other Western Churches which joined her, for giving up the older form and introducing in its

e.g., in the Creed of the Smyrnæans, according to the testimony of Hippolytus, which alone comes into consideration (see p. 48, n. 1, *supra*), the Antiochian, according to Cassian, in *Const. Ap.* vii. 41, etc. In the 1st article, on the contrary, it is lacking in none of the Eastern symbols. For apparent exceptions, among which is to be reckoned the Didascalia (p. 98, n. 1), see Caspari, iii. 50, n. 88. The free narrative of Aphraates (ed. Wright, p. 22) is to be judged in the same way. In the question to which a reply is here given the oneness of God is emphasized; in the reply this point is omitted without any intentional opposition.

¹ See above, p. 58, n. 1. The reminiscence of John 17. 3 makes itself distinctly heard in many Eastern Creeds which accentuate the unity of God, *e.g.*, *Const. Ap.* vii. 41, and the Antiochian Creed. Also 1 Cor. 8. 4-6 and Eph. 4. 5 f., have had some influence, especially in cases where emphasis is also laid on the unity of the Lord Christ; cf. even Irenæus, i. 3, 6 (if the word *κύριον*, wanting in the Latin text, is the true reading), and Clement, *Strom.* vii. 107.

place that which has ever since been predominant in the West? Their reasons were justifiable when they strove to render the work of trifling critics more difficult, and to shield the "simple," who always form the majority of the community (p. 53, above). Those critics sought, by an appeal to their baptismal confession, to foist upon them views which were as antagonistic to the Scriptures as to the development of Christian thought on the Person of Christ. In altering the form of confession they no more altered the confession of the Church than Luther, when he did not hesitate to expound our Creed in his Catechism and at the same time to lead the congregation in singing: "We all believe in one God, the Maker of heaven and earth." Just as little would one of us be making an alteration in the Creed by repeating it aloud with the congregation every Sunday at Erlangen, though for years he had constantly sung Luther's metrical Creed instead of it at Leipsic. The path marked out by the Apostolic forms of speech was not for-

saken. These alterations were made in order to protest against two opposing Monarchian heresies; and to protect two equally important elements of the Christian faith, the personal distinction of the Son from the Father, disputed by Noetus and Praxeas, and the unreserved offering of faith and prayer to Jesus criticised by Theodotus and others as the idolizing of a man and the denial of Monotheism.

If the original Creed and also the altered Roman form were content to express the relation of God to the world in one word, *παντοκράτωρ*, only the fact that God had power over all was directly asserted. But as neither a Jew nor a Christian ever held this faith except in connection with the thought that God was the Creator of the world, this was taken for granted from the beginning. The manifold forms in which this thought has attained unequivocal expression in the Creeds are only amplifications of the original. No one can say exactly when such an addition was first incorporated into the baptismal con-

fession of a Church. The defenders of the faith of the Church from Justin onwards opposed Marcion and most of the Gnostics, who distinguished the Creator of the world, the Demiurge, from the God of the Christian faith. They were never weary of emphasizing this fact, and also inserted it in varying phrases in many free reproductions of the baptismal confession. On the other hand, it was as yet wanting in the oldest forms of the Creed, which can be traced with certainty. We may therefore conclude that it was inserted in consequence of this opposition. But this opposition, especially when directed against Marcion, was still keenly maintained far on into the 3rd century, and was kept alive in the consciousness of the whole Church from Persia to Spain by the similar tendencies of that later period. However, from the wide propagation of the confession of faith in God as Creator, and the many ways in which this was expressed in the baptismal Creeds of the 4th century, two statements may be proved without difficulty.

First, this addition did not spring up in one place and spread from thence in all directions. Secondly, it was included in the baptismal confessions of most Churches before the Council of Nicæa, and long before there was any thought of giving up the shorter Roman form at Rome and Milan. Of the many varieties of this addition, that which we possess in our Creed is by far the simplest and most dignified. Nor is any injury done to the old Creed if, when the German Creed is repeated, the word "Almighty" is always connected with "Maker of heaven and earth," in spite of the history of the development of the Creed and the exegesis of the old interpreters, for God has made known His Omnipotence pre-eminently in the creation.¹ Faith in the one

¹ The original form (p. 57, above) must be translated "in one God the Almighty," in spite of the probability that an article was also wanting here. The Roman form had "in God (the) Father the Almighty." But even after "Creator of heaven and earth" was added there was no need to connect with it "omnipotentem," which is still separate in the *Catechismus Rom.*, l. i. p. 375, and is explained as an independent article.

expression stands or falls with faith in the other.

II

Et in Jesum Christum, And in Jesus Christ, His
filium ejus unicum, Domi- only Son, our Lord.
num nostrum.

Rom. : Καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (τὸν?) υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν
μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν. *Agu.* : Et in Christo Jesu, unico
filio ejus, Domino nostro. *Afr.* : Credo in Jesum Christum,
filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum.¹ *Jerus.* : Καὶ εἰς
ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ.²

Antioch. : Et in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum
filium ejus unigenitum et primogenitum totius creaturae, ex
eo natum ante omnia secula et non factum, Deum verum ex
Deo vero, homousion patri, per quem et secula compaginata
sunt et omnia facta.

¹ So according to Fulgentius in Caspari, ii. 254 ; on the other hand, Augustine in *sermo* 215 (ed. Bass, viii. 949), in which the African Creed is explained : Credimus et in filium ejus, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.

² So far the Liturgy of James. But as it breaks off here with "*et cetera*," it is possible that some of Cyril's additions may belong to the original form. That is not to say it is probable. If the words which follow in Cyril, τὸν μονογενῆ, had always stood in the Creed of Jerusalem, the copyist of the Liturgy would surely have put his "*etc.*" after rather than before them.

We do not know whether the word "unicum," which corresponds with the Greek *μονογενῆ*, always formed part of the Creed (see p. 94, n. 1), or whether it was first an addition, and then, in conscious remembrance of John 1. 14, 18; 3. 16, 18; 1 John 4. 9, was accepted in most Churches. But it only states what every confessor of Jesus Christ has always meant when he called Him the Son of God; namely, that He was the Son in a peculiar manner, in a sense which could not be applied to the later-born sons and children of God, who had first become so through Christ. The word in its constant application to Jesus may be a peculiarity of St. John's; the thought has been universally Christian ever since Jesus has had believing worshippers. For the same Hebrew word, which is translated in Greek *μονογενής*,¹ is also rendered by *ἀγαπητός*,

¹ Psalm 22. 21; 35, 17, of the only soul possessed by man; so Tobias 3. 15; Luke 7. 12; 9. 38; Hebrews 11. 17 of the only child. In Genesis 22. 2, 16 which is quoted in Hebrews 11. 17, the LXX. gives the translation *ἀγαπητός*, as

though perhaps not quite so correctly. But Christ was called the beloved Son¹ long before St. John wrote his Gospel. How Jesus is the only Son because He is the only begotten Son is not explained by any of these attributes. But the Creed explains it in that which follows. The other variations of this article in the old Creeds have no religious importance. If we had a free choice, we should give our Creed the preference over all the forms varying from it, in consideration of the natural sequence of the words and the rhythm of the sentences.

in many other cases. In Judges 11. 34 the same Hebrew word is translated in many MSS. of the LXX. by the double use of *μονογενής* and *ἀγαπητός*. The Vulgate has sometimes *unicus* (Psalm 22. 21 ; 35. 17 ; Luke 7. 12 ; 9. 38), sometimes *unigenitus* (Gen. 22. 2, 16 ; Judges 11. 34 ; Heb. 11. 17, and in the Johannine passages). St. Paul expresses what is in substance the same thought by *τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ* (Rom. 8. 32, where Gen. 22. 16 is quoted), and by *τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱόν* (Rom. 8. 3).

¹ Matthew 3. 17 ; 17. 5 ; Mark 1. 11 ; 9. 7 ; Luke 20. 13 ; cf. Ephesians 1. 6.

III

Qui conceptus est de	Who was conceived by
Spiritu Sancto, natus ex	the Holy Ghost, born of the
Maria virgine.	Virgin Mary.

Rom. : Τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου.—*Aqu.* : Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine.—*Afric.* : the same.¹—*Jerus.* : Σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα.²—*Antioch.* : Qui propter nos venit et natus est ex Maria virgine.³

The complete form of this Article in our Creed is almost unknown in all the Creeds, except those which can be proved to be derived from it.⁴ It

¹ Only *ex virgine Maria*. Close by is *qui natus est*, also *natum*.

² So according to Cyril (cf. Caspari, in the *Norweg. Ab-handlungen*, pp. 95, 102) ; the Liturgy of James, if it made known the Creed up to this point, would unquestionably show an older, more popular form. In his 12th *Catechesis* Cyril does justice to the meaning of the other formulas.

³ On the variations of the fragmentary Greek text see Caspari, i. 79 f.

⁴ Cf. Caspari, ii. 203 ; iii. 213. The oldest form of Creed, in which we read, "qui de coelo descendit, conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine," is that which the Court theologians carried through at the Synod of Rimini, A.D. 359 (Hieron. *c. Lucif.*, c. 17, 18 ; Vallarsi, ii^a

must, therefore, have been peculiar, we do not know for how long, to the South-Gallican Church, to which we owe our recension of the Creed. It only states more fully, and in Biblical language,¹ what all the other forms also state, that Jesus, without a human father, through the wonderful

189). In the Greek text of the formula of Niké, which is the groundword of this formula of Rimini (cf. Hefele, *Consiliengesch.*, I². 708), we find simply γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου (Theodoreti *H.E.* ii. 21). The variation in the Latin setting seems to have been a concession to the custom of some of the Westerns who were present. The second Creed quoted by Caspari with the above formula is attributed to Damasus, which is certainly a mistake (Hieron., ed. Vallarsi, xi. 200). Its historical value cannot be estimated without the solution of a whole chain of complicated questions and comparisons; cf. Pseudoaug. *sermo* 235 (ed. Bass, xvi. 1286, with the Benedictines' preface); *Cod. can. eccl. Rom.*, c. 39 (Leonis opp. ed. Ballerini, iii. 279, 919 f., 946 ff.). Moreover, in the latter text "conceptus de Spiritu Sancto" is missing. It has often crept into older texts, which in other respects have no connection with the later Apostles' Creed, and have not been interpolated to agree with it in other places, e.g. in a sermon probably of Ambrose (Caspari, ii. 57, 126; iv. 220), and in a similar sermon of Augustine (Caspari, ii. 275 ff. See the corrected text, iv. 233).

¹ Luke i. 31, 35; Matt. i. 18, 20.

operation of the Holy Ghost, was conceived by Mary, and was therefore born of a Virgin. But this has been an element of the Creed as far back as we can trace it; and, if Ignatius may count as a witness for a yet older confession belonging to yet earlier Apostolic times, the name of the Virgin Mary was already contained in it,¹ as well as that of Pontius Pilate. We can also maintain that during the first four centuries of the Church no teacher, and no religious community which had any pretence to consider themselves inheritors of the original Christianity, took any other view of the beginning of the life of Jesus. Only those who dissolved the whole historical appearance of Jesus into a deceptive phantom taught otherwise. Cerinthus, who taught that the Saviour, the true

¹ See above, p. 90. For the fact that Justin in the passages resembling a Creed (*Apol.* i. 31, 46; *Dial.* 85), always speaks of the Virgin only, without naming her, is unimportant for the history of the Creed. Elsewhere he is not silent (*Dial.* 100 twice; *Dial.* 120). Nor is it important that Aristides, in his *Apology*, c. 2, should call her only the "Hebrew Virgin."

Christ, entered into a personal union with Jesus at His Baptism, which was dissolved again before His Passion, allowed that the man Jesus was the son of Joseph. The only importance that this man possessed for religion was that he served as a visible form, a mouthpiece to the Christ quite distinct from Him. Old Cerinthus would not be such a strange figure among our modern theologians. According to Irenæus, he declared the Virgin Birth to be impossible, and he preferred St. Mark's Gospel, which is silent on that subject.¹ Marcion, who preferred to write a new Gospel for himself and his community, allowed his Christ to come into the world without human aid in the synagogue at Capernaum. But this Christ remained a stranger on the earth so utterly strange to Him. His whole history is a Theophany lasting a year, which only the absurd superstition of the Church could have accepted as corporeal

¹ So according to the single trustworthy notice of the use of the Gospels by the Cerinthians in Irenæus, iii. 11, 7, where he refers back to i. 26, 1 ; iii. 11, 1.

reality. From the beginning of the second century Jewish Christians, who resented the development of the Church since the days of St. Paul, and violently hated that Apostle, sought to win followers for a mixed religion, which was more nearly related to Islam on the one side and to Buddhism on the other than to Christianity. They fought for it with the weapons of a relentless criticism against all historical revelation and documentary evidence. They were indifferent to the human beginning of Jesus' life. They did not care if the Jews did call Him the son of Joseph. For they found compensation for the surrender of the mystery of the Christian faith in a fantastic doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and in the assertion that Jesus was an incarnation of the true prophet, who had often already, especially in Adam and Moses, become flesh and man. We do not know whether a real community, a Church of this faith, ever existed. But, on the other hand, the Jewish communities, which prolonged a sectarian existence to about 400 A.D., or possibly

even longer, while holding tenaciously to their nationality, their language, their Old Testament, and their Hebrew Gospel, were just as faithful to the confession of Jesus as the Son of the Virgin.¹ Even in heathen Christendom the less violent innovators, such as the imaginative Valentinus (c. 140-160), the followers of the shoemaker Theodotus, who were well equipped with classical culture (c. 200), and the worldling Paul of Samosata in the Bishop's house at Antioch (c. 270), did not dare to attack it directly. The only renowned theologian who did was Photinus of Sirmium (c. 340-370). Julian the Apostate congratulated him thereon, and called him an uncommonly rational theologian.² Inasmuch as Photinus declared Jesus, the legitimate son of

¹ Cf. my *Hist. of the Canon*, ii. 668-673, esp. p. 670, note 3; also pp. 686-690.

² Facundus of Hermiane (*Defensio tr. cap.*, iv. 2; Migne 67, col. 621) has preserved the fragment of Julian's letter. Julian has also favoured him with special regard in his polemic against Christianity (*Juliani contra Christ. quae supersunt*, ed. Neumann, p. 214, 1).

Joseph and Mary, to be a deified man because of His moral worth,¹ he made theology fit for a drawing-room, and in the eyes of the Cæsar, who had relapsed into heathenism, almost fit for a court. We must set beside this what Polycarp has related of his teacher, St. John. When the Apostle visited the Public Baths in Ephesus, and caught sight of Cerinthus, he hurried away, saying, "Let us fly, that the Baths may not collapse in which is found Cerinthus, the enemy of truth."

In the face of these facts, it may well seem strange that any one should consider the judgment as to the value of this article of the Confession had any kind of connection with the question as to the value of certain anthropological theories of isolated Church teachers. Long before Christians found time to set up theories on the original development of individual personality from the species, and also long before any one had derived

¹ Cf. my *Marcellus*, pp. 191, 193. In the latter passage, note 2, the improbable is explained to be probable only in respect of Paul of Samosata.

unhistorical consequences from the miracle of the Conception of Jesus with reference to Mary and the brothers of Jesus, the fruit of her marriage with Joseph, belief in Jesus as the Son of the Virgin was the universal Christian belief? Was there ever indeed a Christian community without this belief? It is not in accordance with the actual facts to represent this belief as depending upon the historical value assigned to the narratives of two Evangelists. But the most surprising thing is that Lessing¹ should have lived so utterly in vain for certain Protestant theologians, that they can still imagine that the contradictions between St. Matthew and St. Luke furnish a valid proof against the historical value of their accounts of the Birth. How would these theologians judge of the history so inconvenient to them if the two accounts of the event agreed in every particular

¹ I am referring to Lessing's famous thesis (W W., pub. by Maltzahn, x. 51), "The Resurrection of Christ may well be true, although the narratives in the Gospels are contradictory," which he so brilliantly expounds.

and only differed in outward expression? They would unquestionably maintain that there were not two witnesses (which would continuously guarantee a certain extension and a greater age for the myth), but only a single witness for the existence of the myth at the time of the Evangelist who first recorded it, if indeed he had not simply invented the history out of his own head. No further notice would be taken of the second narrator as a corrector of the style. But, as it is, we have two historical works, intended for very different circles of readers, which certainly, in this as in many other points, were drawn from perfectly different sources.

St. Luke already knows of many attempts to write the Gospel history. The writers like himself had received the history to be related from eye-witnesses. He appeals to the fact that as an investigator he has traced back the things he has to relate to their very beginning.

His whole work rests on these suppositions. By its means he hopes to lead on Theophilus,

who was by birth a heathen, and probably did not yet belong to the Christian community, to the conviction that the Christian traditions of which he had heard were not pious myths, but trustworthy history. According to this the narrative in St. Luke 1. and 2. cannot have been the peculiar property of a small circle of Christians.

This is also corroborated by the narrative in St. Matthew 1., and indeed not only by its existence and its evident independence of St. Luke. The Gospel intended for the Jews and Jewish Christians is not a simple account of wonderful events in the life of Jesus, but a carefully arranged account of events of which a superficial knowledge is for the most part supposed. But the point of view from which St. Matthew looks at everything is not the simple confession that Jesus is the promised Messiah. The point kept strictly in view from the first page to the last is much more apologetic, and, so far as it is unavoidable, polemic. That which St. Matthew plainly declares at the end with reference to the Resurrec-

tion of Jesus (chap. 28. 11-15) the attentive reader should read throughout between the lines. His theme is as follows: Jesus, who from the beginning was an offence to the Jews, who was rejected by His people, and thus became a stumbling-block to the Jews, who was ignominiously slandered, even beyond the grave, that Jesus is nevertheless the Messiah. Just where the Jews scoff at and calumniate Him He fulfils the prophecy of the Messiah when rightly understood. It is only from this point of view that we can understand the first chapter of St. Matthew. With few and simple words, but with a power of narration which lays hold of every sympathizing reader, the Evangelist pictures in chapter I. 18-21 the imminent danger lest He who should save His people from their sins should be born as the illegitimate child of a wife who had been put away by her lawful husband on account of unfaithfulness. It is a holy work of God which has caused this horrible suggestion, it is the fulfilment of the prophet's prediction. Even those who will

not acknowledge it have no right to blaspheme, for the danger is arrested by God's ordering. Mary did not give birth to her Son till Joseph had acknowledged her as his lawful wife, and had taken her unto him. The Evangelist had already prepared for this thoroughly apologetic narrative by the preceding genealogical table. Four women's names attract our notice in what is otherwise such a dry list of men's names. The honourable female ancestors of the race, such as Sarah or Rebecca, are not mentioned, but only those women whose characters are highly offensive to Jewish, and in three cases out of four to every human, feeling. The name of Tamar (I. 3) reminds us of a most awful chapter in the history of the Patriarchs (Gen. 38.). Rahab was not only a heathen, but every Jew and Jewish Christian mentally added that bad epithet to her name which Christian teachers also in ancient times did not spare her (Jas. 2. 25; Heb. 11. 31). Ruth (I. 5) appears to us as a lovable character; to the Jews she remains a Moabitish heathen. Solo-

mon's mother is not even mentioned by name, but is only called the wife of Uriah (1. 6), by whose murder David sealed his adultery. What is the meaning of these shameful blots in the prehistoric and historic accounts of the Davidic house, whose genealogical tree was brought to perfection in Jesus the Christ, the noblest shoot? Why must Mary allow herself to be added as the fifth to these four women? As it is plain that the Evangelist had no blasphemous intention there remains only one imaginable reason for these statements—the same apologetic purpose which governs his account of the Conception and Birth of Jesus. He would say to the Jews and to those Christians who were still affected by their attacks, as follows: "Suppose that all were true which Jewish hatred has invented about the beginning of Jesus' life, the Jew who does not allow those dark passages in the history of the house of David to disturb his faith in it as the history of a Divine Revelation still waiting for its fulfilment, has also no right, because of those

unwarrantable accusations against Mary and her Son, to keep himself afar from Jesus, and to allow himself to be embittered against Him. Those well-known Jewish blasphemies¹ did not arise from the reading of Matthew 1. Just the reverse was the case. The Evangelist knew of them before, and refutes them in that chapter scarcely less distinctly than he opposes in chapter 28. 11-15 the Jewish slander that the disciples of Jesus had stolen His body from the grave. Whoever cannot decide, as S. Reimarus did with reference to the Resurrection, to accept the Jewish as the original and true account, and on the other hand to explain the Evangelist's narrative to be an apologetic fiction, must be prepared, on the contrary, to acknowledge the connection between the two narratives, if indeed he be capable of honest thought. The Jewish assertion that Jesus was an unlawful son of Mary, which St. Matthew assumes to be universally known, is as

¹ Cf. Liabé, *Jesus Christ in the Talmud* (1891), pp. 9-39 (p. 7 Eng. trans.).

certainly a caricature of the Christian tradition of the Miraculous Conception as the Jewish fable in Matthew 28. 15 is a caricature of the Apostolic preaching of the Resurrection of Jesus. How old and how well known the Christian tradition must have been in Palestine if the Jewish caricature was so widely spread at the time St. Matthew's Gospel was written, that the Evangelist deemed it necessary at the beginning of his book to oppose it so decidedly!

But there is no question here of a narrative undeniably known in the most diverse districts long before the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke were written. It was believed in especially by the Christians in Palestine, and known also to the Jews there, who distorted the narrative by the most hateful fictions. Just as the account of the Flight into Egypt gave rise to Jewish misrepresentations, so the unanimous and unambiguous accounts of all the four Evangelists of the Feeding of the Five Thousand have not protected that story from the most foolish ration-

alizing attacks of our theologians. According to the Evangelists, who relate the wonderful beginning of Jesus' life, this is in very deed the foundation of His Divine Sonship. St. Luke says this distinctly (l. 35; cf. l. 32). Consequently he would have the heavenly call at the Baptism and at the Transfiguration¹ understood not as declaring Jesus to be the Son of God, but as a repeated confirmation and loud proclamation of His Divine Sonship, which had been grounded in His Conception and Birth. His Divine Sonship is represented as the real condition of Jesus in opposition to His supposed relationship to Joseph (Luke 3. 22, 23). St. Matthew takes the same view. Jesus is first called the Son of God in chapter 2. 15, but he gives the reader no other ground for the statement than the narrative in chapter 1. 18-25. St. John calls the Saviour for the first time the Son of God, and indeed the Only-begotten, namely in a peculiar sense (see above, p. 115), after he has said: "The Word was

¹ 3. 22; 9. 35.

made flesh." Though St. John has said nothing in chapter I. 1-13 of the Generation of the Logos from God as a pre-temporal act, on which the Church has speculated so profoundly, there is nevertheless no doubt that Jesus was for Him the only Son of God in the fullest sense, because He who was with God from all eternity, at an appointed time in history became in the body living man. While the other children and sons of God have become so by virtue of their believing adherence to Jesus, and in the strength of the power bestowed on them by Jesus, after having formerly stood in a very different relationship to God (I. 12 f.), Jesus is the Son of God because He came forth from God and became Man. And just because this "first-born among many brethren" (Rom. 8. 29 ; cf. John 20. 17) is the Son of God by birth and by nature, and not like them by being born again of grace and penitent faith, therefore He is the Only-begotten.

St. John relates as little as St. Mark does of the Birth and Childhood of Jesus. Even more

plainly than St. Mark he avoids entering into a full account of the life of Jesus. When he begins to relate (I. 19), he places us at once at the height of the activity of the Baptist. Important events, like the Baptism of Jesus and His growth at Nazareth, come to light only incidentally, and are taken for granted (I. 32-34, 45). Therefore there is in his Gospel no definite account directly referring to the mode in which the Only-begotten became Man. Nevertheless no uncertainty exists as to what he thought about it. The Logos has *become* flesh as men *are* flesh. But he is also the Son of God, and indeed from His Birth. He could not have been this if He, like other men, had been the production of human nature, which propagates itself. Men are thus flesh by nature, and only subsequently, through the new birth given by God, become the children of God. If he is from birth in an extraordinary and unique sense what the other children of men become in the course of their lives by virtue of a power given them by Christ, and in the sense of a draw-

ing near to Him which reaches on into eternity (1 John 3. 2), His Birth must stand in an extraordinary sense for that for which their second birth stands. But St. John has expressed himself most fully on the latter point immediately before the sentence about the Logos becoming flesh (1. 13), and he has united by means of an "and" the two statements that the children of men became the children of God, and the Logos became living Man, and at the same time the Only-begotten Son of God. The parallel is so startling that in the earliest times and even in the most remote districts it was supposed that verse 13 referred directly to the Generation of Christ, and the text was altered in consequence.¹ No

¹ Irenæus (iii. 16. 2 ; 19. 2 ; v. 1. 3), and Tertullian (*De carne*, 19), both of whom had only a Greek New Testament in their hands, knew no other text than that which was otherwise only supported by Latin witnesses for John 1. 13 ("qui . . . natus est"). If one compares the context and the quotation in Iren. iii. 19. 2 with Just. *Dial.* 63, one can hardly doubt that Justin had this reading. Tertullian seeks to prove that the text now generally recognised, and maintained by the Valentinians, is unreasonable.

intelligent person would now think of pronouncing this altered text to be the original. But the impression, from which the alteration in the text arose, was right and is inevitable—that the Evangelist had in his mind the narratives of the Conception and Birth of the Son of God when he wrote his account of the begetting of the children of God. Why was he not content to say that man did not become the child of God by natural birth nor by a repetition of that birth, if such had been possible (cf. 3. 4-6), but only through the power of a new life proceeding directly from God? The express denial of the will of man in particular, as a co-operating factor in the begetting of the children of God, has never been credibly explained by any one who has denied the conscious reference in an extraordinary sense to the Conception and Birth of the Son of God. It is not, however, sufficient to acknowledge that here, as in numberless other passages in his book, the youngest Evangelist had in his mind and took into consideration the older traditions as recorded

by the Synoptists. He has justified them and adhered to them by describing the origin of the later-born children of God in accordance with the Christian tradition of the Conception and Birth of the true and, in the fullest sense of the word, only Son of God. If St. John here, even in the introduction to his book, gives us to understand what he thinks of the Incarnation of the eternal Logos, and of the coincident Becoming of the Only-begotten, it is plain that he does not represent the event differently in the prologue and all the later statements,—his own in his Epistles and Gospel, and those of Jesus on the sending and coming of the Son of God from God, or from heaven, into this world. It was not necessary that he should tell his Christian readers that, on the first day of his meeting with Jesus, St. Philip did not know all that the community acknowledged about their Lord.¹ They said so themselves.

That there ever was a community in Apostolic

¹ John 1. 45 ; cf. the omission of a correction in 7. 42 ; on the other side, however, 6. 42.

times, whose faith was fixed on Jesus the son of Joseph, is an hypothesis which has been long exploded by all historical testimony. It is one which can never be proved. No one took a larger part than St. Paul in the founding of the communities in which we already find early in the 2nd century that faith in the Son of the Virgin universally prevailed. He has not related the history of Jesus anywhere in his Epistles. But in the single passage where he refers in a few words to the historical circumstances under which God sent His Son into the world, besides God who is His Father he mentions only the woman who bare Him, and the law under which He was placed by His birth (Gal. 4. 4). St. Paul does not say here "born of a Virgin" but "born of a woman." The former would have been most unsuitably applied here, for he does not want to accentuate the difference of the Son of God from other men, but rather the likeness between His condition and position and the condition of those whom He was to save, and chiefly

of the Israelites who were under the law and its curse. Therefore all the more imperatively an answer is demanded to the question: Why does St. Paul here only mention the mother when it is plain that it was much more decisive for the subjection of Jesus to the Mosaic law, to which the context refers, that He should have been born and have grown up the son of an Israelitish man?¹ Plainly because in the thought of St. Paul there was no room for Joseph as the father of Jesus beside His heavenly Father. It is said, or rather has been said during the last few generations, that St. Paul, like all the Evangelists and the Apocalypse, acknowledges the Davidic descent of Jesus, but Jesus' Davidic descent is transmitted through Joseph, not through Mary, of whose descent the Scriptures say nothing. The genealogies (Matt. 1., Luke 3.) make this quite plain, for they are traced down to Joseph, not to Mary. But if Jesus is not the son of

¹ Timothy, the son of a Jewish mother, was an uncircumcised heathen.

Joseph after the flesh, then He cannot be really the son of David, and a fundamental article of the Apostolic Confession is purely imaginary. All this is quite true with the exception of the fraudulent conclusion. The oldest witnesses to be obtained for the Davidic descent of Jesus, which show this connection in a genealogy—St. Matthew and St. Luke—both say quite distinctly that Jesus as the son of Joseph was the son of David, and that He was Joseph's son not because He was begotten of him, but because He was born of Mary, the lawful wife of Joseph. As this connection was sufficient for the Lord Himself in His working among the people, so that His bitterest antagonists never denied His Davidic descent during His lifetime, and thus cut the ground from beneath His feet, it sufficed for the Evangelists also.¹ How can it be proved that

¹ Perhaps I should have done better to refer to the small classical treatise by Hoffmann (*Protest. u. Kirche*, xxii. [1851] p. 114), in place of my remarks above. What has been said against my own investigations in the *Forschungen*, i. 264 ff. gives no occasion to make any corrections.

this was not the original view of the Christian community, and that a yet older generation had done homage to the coarse view that the historical right of Jesus to appear amongst His people as the Messiah depended upon the fact that the blood of David flowed in His veins? We must draw on our imagination, or, as Irenæus¹ so strikingly expresses it, "read books that have never been written," if we wish the history of Christendom to be other than that offered to us at its source.

To the same category belongs also the statement that the fact in question did not form a component part of the original proclamation of the gospel. We know, it is true, that Jesus, the first to proclaim the gospel, did not begin His preaching to His people by saying, "Do not take Me for the son of Joseph." He did not generally begin His preaching by speaking of Himself at all, but with the proclamation of the near approach and of the coming with Him of the kingdom of God.

¹ I. 8, 1.

But how soon the Person of the King's Son, who was at the same time the Preacher of the Kingdom of God, stands forth from the background which concealed Him during the first public preaching! This is true of Him not only as King of the kingdom and Judge of the world, but also of His Person in relation to God and to man. That which is begotten and born of the flesh (for both are included in the Greek expression) needs repentance and the new birth in order to gain an entrance into the kingdom of God. The King's Son and the Heir of the kingdom needs neither, because He is not a production of the human race, which propagates itself, but the Son of God, who, *is* in heaven, who descended from thence, and who is born into the world.¹ If Jesus was unable wholly to keep silence about this heavenly background of His earthly existence from those who like a Nicodemus, were afar off, and did not seem fully prepared for it, who can gauge how He spoke of it to His disciples, who thankfully confirm it by

¹ Cf. John 3. 3-16 ; 8. 14-30, 55-58 ; 10. 30-38 ; 16. 28 ff.

saying that He had openly spoken to them of His coming forth from God? The Fourth Gospel adheres in the opening to the synoptic tradition of the beginning of the life of Jesus. It reserves for us many of the disciples' questions and requests for explanations. That it has not also preserved amongst them those which referred to His natural relationship to Joseph and Mary, is no proof that an anxious silence on it was preserved when the company of the disciples were gathered round their Master. If from the sermons in the Acts of the Apostles we can form some idea of the mode in which the gospel was preached to the unbelieving, we may venture to say that a narrative of that which preceded the appearance of the Baptist and the Baptism of Jesus did not regularly belong to the elements of the first missionary preaching.¹ Every sensible missionary will strive first to awaken consciences and allure hearts to believe. He will not begin with that

¹ Acts 2. 14-36 ; 3. 12-26 ; 10. 34-43 ; 13. 16-41. Less to the point are Acts 14. 15-17 ; 17. 22-31.

which only requires faith, which, if addressed to those who are afar off when they are not prepared for it, would not only invite contradiction and mockery, but would be also utterly worthless. Yet to the original Gospel belongs all that was said of Jesus in the second and tenth chapters in the sermon addressed to these men, besides that which was made known to the newly baptized in the "doctrine of the Apostles" (Acts 2. 42). We do not know exactly what was included in those first articles of Christian instruction, some of which St. Paul enumerates on a special occasion (1 Cor. 15. 3). And even if the teaching on the beginning of the life of Jesus was not included in the first articles, but was reserved for the instruction of the inner circle of Christians already baptized and confirmed in the faith (1 Cor. 2. 6), we are by no means therefore to suppose that it was, in the opinion of the Apostles, quite immaterial what was thought of the origin of the Man Jesus. On the contrary we know that there were no differences of opinion about the Person of Jesus amongst the

communities of Apostolic times, or, as was then said, amongst those who "called upon the name of Jesus."¹ They could not have existed without leaving some trace in literature. Any such thing is entirely wanting. St. Paul himself assures even very questionable Jewish Christian missionaries that they preach no other Jesus than he preached.² This also proves that the existence of an original Christianity without faith in Jesus the Son of God born of a Virgin, is a fiction of which surely no one need be proud.

IV.

Passus sub Pontio Pilato,
crucifixus, mortuus et sepul-
tus.

Suffered under Pontius
Pilate, crucified, dead and
buried.

¹ 1 Cor. i. 2; Rom. io. 12-14; Acts i. 14, 21. Cf. my lecture on *Prayers to Jesus in the Apostolic Age* (1885). I speak of communities. Some there were in Apostolic times who did not "call on the Lord out of a pure heart" (2 Tim. 2. 22). Among them were those who were led into mistakes by false teaching on the Person of Christ. Cf. 1 John 2. 18-23; 4. 1-3; 5. 5-12; 2 John 7.

² 2 Cor. 11. 4; cf. Phil. i. 14-18.

Rom. : τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα. *Aqm.* : Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus. *Afr.* : The same (only with "qui . . . est"). *Jerus.* : (only according to Cyril) σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα. *Antioch.* : Et crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus.

The strangest portion of this Article, and one which has therefore become a proverb, "Pontius Pilate in the Creed," is also that which can be traced furthest back in exactly the same form, and which reappears in nearly all Creeds without alteration. It seems, therefore, highly probable that this ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου already belonged to the baptismal confession, which can be traced back to the early days of missions to the heathen (see pp. 83-88, above). It is also very remarkable that in the oldest account which we possess by a heathen author of the historical event of the Crucifixion of Christ, the name of the Roman official who allowed the sentence of death to be carried out is given with the same completeness—we might also say incompleteness—as it is given by Christians when they reproduce, or appear to

reproduce, their Creed.¹ People are not in the habit of bringing forward Tacitus among the witnesses for the Creed. Probably he never heard of such a thing. But it is evident that the little he says of Christ is neither drawn from the New Testament nor from Josephus, who is silent about the Crucifixion of Christ. The only other sources from which he could draw—and who knows through how many intermediaries?—were the verbal communications of Christians. The Roman Christians about the year 100 were in the habit of referring to Pontius Pilate when they spoke to the heathen of the Crucified. It was not long before they began to appeal, in opposition to emperors and statesmen, in all good faith, to supposed Acts and Reports of Pontius Pilate, which they imagined to be in the Roman archives.² Whilst mentioning these facts, I may as well say that it does not seem probable

¹ Tacitus, *Annal.* xv. 44 : "Auctor nominis ejus Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat."

² So first Justin, *Apol.* i. 35, 48.

to me that the name of Pilate was first introduced into the Creed in opposition to a Docetic Christology.¹ It is true an Ignatius was quite ready to remind the Docetists of the historical fact suggested by this name. That was certainly less, much less, unsuitable than the remark of many old Church commentators on the Creed, that the name of Pilate served to fix the date of the Crucifixion and of the whole evangelical history. The names of the Emperors Augustus and Tiberius, which are also to be found in the New Testament, would have been much more suitable, and the historic learning which must be presupposed if the name of Pilate was to serve this purpose would scarcely have been possessed by a single candidate for baptism in the second century. But the old commentators mostly unite with this absurd remark the very true thought that this secular name is an expression of the historic reality

¹ In this I am unable to follow my honoured colleague, W. Caspari, in his treatise *Sub Pontio Pilato* ("Hold that which thou hast," xv. 454 f.).

of the Gospel history.¹ There was a reason also for accentuating this when dealing with the heathen, who were inclined to regard as mythical that which was sacred history to the Christians. St. Luke has interwoven in both his books a number of little incidents, many of them of no intrinsic importance, by means of which this sacred history is connected with the historical events and circumstances of the same period. They prove nothing, but they strengthen the impression, which St. Luke (I. 4) intended to give, that here he was relating history which had come to pass in this world of daily realities, and which did not consist of pious thoughts in a mythical dress. Such an impression is produced by narratives which begin with words like these: "In the days of Herod, the King of Judæa," or "In the fifteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius," or "During Manteuffel's ministry," in contrast to

¹ Cf. Rufinus (c. 18: "Ne ex aliqua parte velut vaga et incerta gestorum traditio vacillaret"). W. Caspari adds more in another passage, p. 459.

narratives which begin, "Once upon a time in olden days there was a king." From this point of view the name of Pontius Pilate is comprehensible to me in the Creed, and is much to the point. The Creed was not intended to teach chronology, neither was it to provide a sufficient proof of the reality of the story of the Passion for every one versed in history. But it was to avow and attest the belief that the death of Jesus on the Cross was a veritable historical fact.

Further, it was an improvement on the older forms of the Creed to say, "suffered under Pontius Pilate," and then first to add "crucified," which had been originally connected with this name. For Pilate was not the instigator of the Crucifixion. On the other hand, it was before this heathen judge that Jesus, as the innocent Defendant and faithful Witness to the truth, witnessed His "good confession."¹ It was at his bidding, or on his sufferance, that Jesus endured all the shame and mockery of the world before He was

¹ Cf. 1 Tim. 6. 13; John 18. 33-38; Apoc. 1. 5; 3. 14.

crucified. St. Paul reminds Timothy of the confession of Jesus before Pontius Pilate in order to bring to his remembrance the inviolability of his own witness for Christ, which he delivered at his baptism. The external sufferings which he had borne were no true martyrdom without the faithful witness of his mouth. But, on the other hand, the reverse was not what the old Christians called a martyrdom, that is, a witness, unless it had been delivered under the painful pressure of the earthly power. The hearts of the faithful have clung, and still cling, firmly to the suffering of Christ before His Death, which is at the same time a most powerful witness. On the other hand, it is very essential for their faith that Jesus not only allowed the suffering and the shame of the Crucifixion to pass over Him, that He not only barely tasted the cup of death, but that he drank it to the very dregs, and that He really died.

The addition of "died" was also full of meaning, useful even for later centuries, in which men have dared to undermine the last consolation of dying

Christians by the foolish invention of theories that the Death of Christ was apparent, that the Crucified was delivered before the last breath. But it was also well that the mention of the Burial of Jesus, which is contained in the oldest perfectly preserved form of the Creed, was permanently retained, for it secured the confession of the Resurrection of Jesus which followed against misinterpretations which emptied it of all meaning, and which are as old as the preaching of the Resurrection of Jesus. St. Paul had already reckoned the Burial of Jesus as among the most elementary articles of Christian instruction, and thought it useful to bring it to remembrance in his great chapter on the resurrection from the dead. But by doing so he has not succeeded in hindering the learned theologians of the nineteenth century from asserting that St. Paul's faith in the Resurrection of Jesus has nothing to do with the grave of Joseph of Arimathæa, and with the body which was laid therein. But this one little word of St. Paul and of the Apostles' Creed will also in the

future remind every simple layman of the history of Jesus' Burial and of the witness of the other Apostles,¹ and it will enable him to cast aside this assertion as a senseless lie.

V

Descendit ad inferna.

Descended into hell.

In the Book of Concords, p. 29, also in the Latin text of the little Catechism, p. 357. On the other hand, in the great Catechism, p. 452, as also in the Roman Catechism, p. 405, and elsewhere, "descendit ad inferos." —*Aqu.*: "descendit in inferna." This article is missing in all the other creeds with which the preceding articles have regularly been compared.²

These words are among the most obscure in the Creed with reference to their origin and their introduction in this place. At all events they were

¹ 1 Cor. 15. 4, 11; Acts 2. 24-32.

² Rufinus states this expressly with reference to the Roman Creed and to the Creeds of the Oriental Church. He does not seem to know of any exceptions among the latter. Cf. p. 108, n. 2. P. Caspari has proved, I think, in the *Norwegischen Abhandlungen*, pp. 106-277, that the *Descensus* was also missing in the Creed of Jerusalem in the time of Cyril.

not indigenous in the Church province of Arles, where otherwise we can furthest trace back the essential elements of our Creed. They are missing in a great number of documents which contain the rest, or at all events many, of the special marks of our Creed, as, for example, the Communion of Saints.”¹ On the other hand, we find them in some baptismal creeds which have an absolutely ancient character and which bear little or no trace of the peculiarities of our Creed.² They emerge

¹ Thus, for example, in Faustus of Riez and in the *Missale Gallic. Vetus*; see above, p. 15, in the Mozarabic Liturgy (Hahn, p. 36), and in Nicetas (Caspari, *Anecd.* p. 351).

² Thus, not only in the Creed of Aquileia after 370, the time of the baptism of Rufinus, but also in Venantius Fortunatus (Hahn, p. 28, etc.), who was born in the neighbourhood of Treviso, and probably became a Christian in Aquileia. Moreover, he follows Rufinus very closely in his explanation of the Creed. Probably also in the otherwise quite ancient Creed, which is expounded in two Latin homilies falsely ascribed to Augustine. Caspari, ii. 233; not p. 228, on which cf. p. 241. Further, in the equally ancient Creed of the Spanish Church of the 6th and 7th centuries (Caspari, ii. 290, etc.; Hahn, p. 35, etc.; cf. p. 162), and also in the Sacramentary of Bobbio

suddenly and quite evanescently in three Greek synodal decrees of the years 359 and 360.¹ But the oldest of these three confessions, the so-called fourth Sirmian formula, was originally drawn up in Latin, and was probably translated rather freely into Greek for the benefit of the members of the synod who were ignorant of Latin.

The formula was probably drawn up, as in other cases under similar circumstances, with reference to the Church use of the place where the synod was held. We may perhaps look upon Sirmium, on the Sau in the south-eastern corner of Pannonia, as well as Aquileia, as one of the native places of

(Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* i. 2, p. 312 f.), which certainly originated in France, but not in the province of Arles, the Creed of which differs from ours only by the absence of *sanctorum communio*. The legendary form, also, in the appendix of this Sacramentary, p. 396, which otherwise has nothing in common with our Creed, gives *descendit ad inferna* as St. Philip's contribution.

¹ They are the fourth Sirmian formula of the 22nd of May, 359, the formula of Niké of the same year, and that of Constantinople of 360. (Hahn, p. 125, 126, 129. Cf. Hefele, *Conziliengeschichte*, 1², 699, 708, 733.)

this article of the Creed. But scarcely anything is known of the earlier history of these Churches, and therefore of this addition to their creed. No great weight seems to have been attributed to it by the few who had long possessed it, or by those who adopted it later. The oldest commentator who notices it decides, though he expresses some uncertainty, that the thought was already contained in the word "buried."¹ Another says: "While the body of Christ rested in the grave, His soul which was united to the Godhead, descended into the underworld."² Many others pass it by in silence. When it is examined more closely, a few passages of the Bible, more or less applicable, are quoted.³ The effect of the death of Christ and of the dead Christ Himself on the world of the dead is a subject with which the poetic imagination of

¹ Rufinus, c. 18: "Vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo quod sepultus dicitur."

² Ps. Aug., *sermo* 240 (ed. Bass, xvi. 1299).

³ Ps. Aug., *sermo* 241 (p. 1301), *sermo* 242 (p. 1304); also the commentator in the Sacramentary of Bobbio, i. 1, p. 313, although he reproduces the article.

Christians has occupied itself at all events since the beginning of the 2nd century. But the conjectures and imaginations which have linked themselves to it must be clearly distinguished from the fundamental thoughts which give rise to them and which are themselves directly derived from faith in the God-man and from the New Testament.¹

1. If Jesus was truly Man, then His soul, after it had left the body, must have entered into the fellowship of departed spirits, or, since we can only speak of this condition in vague terms, into the place of the dead, the kingdom of the dead, or Hades. Jesus Himself and His disciples spoke of this as self-evident.²

2. If Jesus is He who lives for evermore and even His dying was an act—an act indeed accomplished in the power of an indissoluble life,³ this

¹ Thus by Rufinus, c. 28, and the supposed Chrysostom in Caspari, ii. 233.

² Luke 23. 43 ; Matt. 12. 40 ; Eph. 4. 9 ; Rom. 10. 7 ; Acts 2. 27, 31.

³ John 10. 18 ; Heb. 2. 14 ; 7. 16 ; Rom. 14. 9.

tarrying in the realm of the dead cannot be thought of as a purely passive condition. If, as we cannot doubt, people yonder are conscious of their own existence and of that of others, there must have been some knowledge in the world of the dead that the Lord of the dead as of the living had appeared in their midst.

3. If Jesus is the Redeemer of mankind, the generations which had passed away before Christ came, and especially the members of the community which hoped in Him, must have been brought into personal relationship to Him, to His work, and to His kingdom. The Scriptures not only assure us of this,¹ but they also give ground for the belief that this would not first happen at the last day, but had already in some measure taken place at the death of Jesus.² The Creed does not go so far as to give utterance to the second and third of

¹ Matt. 8. 11 ; 21. 31 f. ; Heb. 11. 40 ; Phil. 2. 10 f.

² Matt. 27. 50-53 ; Heb. 12. 23 compared with 11. 40. As is well-known, different views are held as to the meaning of 1 Pet. 3. 19 ; 4. 6.

these thoughts, and it is far from exalting the phantasies of pious curiosity into a creed. It contents itself with bearing witness to the fact, as it does with reference to the Death on the cross and the Resurrection. Otherwise Jesus would not have truly died nor have suffered the death of the men whom He would and should redeem. The faith of Christians will not give up this confession. Every teacher can easily overcome the difficulty which the German translation "hell" causes to the young and ignorant, who, misled by the present use of the word, think of the place of perdition. He has to do much the same in many passages when he reads the Bible with the young and ignorant.

VI

Tertia die surrexit a mortuis. The third day He rose again from the dead.

Rom. : τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν. *Aqu., Afr.* : Tertia die surrexit a mortuis. *Jerus.* : ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. *Antioch.* : Et tertia die surrexit secundum scripturas.

Proof of this sentence would be proof of the whole Christian faith, for that which St. Paul wrote in the name of all the Apostles still holds good : "If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, your faith is also vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God." And again : "And if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain ; ye are yet in your sins. Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable." It would avoid much prolixity and save a great deal of strength for theological and clerical work, if every theologian were to read 1 Corinthians xv. at least once every year, and honestly examine himself whether he can joyfully take part in the triumphant words : "But now is Christ risen from the dead and become the first-fruits of them that slept"; or whether he must agree with those who are so much impressed by the mocking of the heathen and the lies of the Jews¹ that they say, in spite of their Christian

¹ Acts 17. 32 on the one side, and Matthew 28. 15 on the other.

name, "There is no resurrection of the dead." If this were to take place, we should be spared the sight of an odious and absurd conflict about the Creed within the Church. It is indeed pitiful to see how men, who are otherwise learned theologians, and who wish to be teachers of Christianity, shirk the extremely simple Yes or No, and the unavoidable consequences of either answer. It matters little whether we pass by the empty grave of Jesus silently, or whether we do so with many high-sounding words; whether we borrow from the heathen Celsus or the Jew Spinoza. With reference to the resurrection of Christ and of Christians St. Paul has already spoken, in the words of an Attic comedian, of the pernicious influence on the character of ill-chosen company (1 Cor. 15. 33). But the habit of satisfying oneself with equivocal answers to the Apostle Paul's unequivocal "either"—"or," and to this article of our Creed, is far more pernicious to the character than intercourse, which is often very instructive, with heathen and with Jews.

VII

Ascendit ad coelos, sedet Ascended into heaven,
ad dexteram Dei, Patris sitteth at the right hand of
omnipotentis. God, the Father Almighty.

Rom. : ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρός. *Aqu.* : Ascendit in coelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris.—*Afric.* : Ascendit in coelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris. *Jerus.* : καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξῶν τοῦ πατρός. *Antioch.* : Et ascendit in coelos.

The importance of the Ascension of Jesus cannot be compared with that of His Resurrection. The Resurrection is the foundation of the new world for which we hope; the Ascension is only the passage of the Risen One from this world to that which is above. Nevertheless we can in no wise spare the mention of it in the Creed. It is an inalienable truth for the faith of the Christian that the Risen Lord lives in heavenly communion with His and our Father, and that He takes an active part in the working of the power as well as of the grace of God in this world. Whole pages might be filled with New Testament quotations

from the sayings of Jesus in the Gospels on to the sayings of the same Jesus in the Revelation of St. John, if it were necessary to prove that Christianity had never existed without this belief. It is also plain that, according to the faith of Christians, the translation of Jesus, who once walked on the highways of Palestine and was laid in the grave near Jerusalem, to His present undoubted position and activity could never be described as anything but an exaltation,¹ a going hence to God,² as an ascent, as being raised up into heaven.³ If this exaltation of Jesus to the right hand of God is sometimes referred to in connection with the Resurrection, though no word is used⁴ which we can translate by Ascension, that does not in the least alter the fact that the translation of Jesus

¹ John 3. 14; 8. 28; 12. 32, 34 (it is well known that these passages are interpreted differently); Acts 2. 32; 5. 31; Phil. 2. 9; Heb. 7. 26.

² John 7. 33 f.; 8. 22; 13. 33-36; 16. 28.

³ Luke 9. 51; Acts 1. 2, 11, 22; 1 Tim. 3. 16; John 6. 62; 20. 17; Acts 2. 34; Eph. 4. 8-10.

⁴ Eph. 1. 20; 2. 6.

to the other world must be regarded as an event independent of the Resurrection. Neither is this argument weakened by the fact that in other passages sitting at the right hand of God is spoken of as the immediate result of the Resurrection.¹ We have only to remind ourselves of the other fact that the first Christian generation, the whole circle of the personal disciples of Jesus, both men and women, were firmly convinced that their Lord, after His Resurrection, held intercourse with them during many days in a manner which was perceptible to their aroused senses.² If this intercourse has now come to an end, and has made way for another mode of communication by which those who believe in Him may call on their King and High Priest, who is exalted at the right hand of God, this is only to say, without putting it into words, that He who has risen has ascended

¹ Rom. 8. 34; Col. 3. 1. In Phil. 2. 9; Heb. 1. 3, even the Resurrection is passed over.

² 1 Cor. 15. 5-7; Matt. 28. 9-16; John 20. 26; 21. 1; Acts 1. 3; 10. 41; 13. 31.

up to heaven after His Resurrection. It was as unnecessary for the Apostles to describe the historical event of His Ascension, as such, as it was for them to relate the history of the Birth of Jesus. Nevertheless, both events have been related. According to St. Luke's account,¹ it took place just as Jesus had said it would, after His Resurrection (John 20. 17), and, as He had already earlier set it before His disciples, as an event which would be visible to them (John 6. 62). The last farewell Jesus took of His disciples differed in manner from that in which He had vanished out of their sight on previous occasions. By this lifting up from the earth, and this disappearance in the clouds which floated upwards, He made clear to them by deed that which He had already foretold about the Risen One. From one fixed period of time till another, which the Father had kept in His own power, He would no longer walk with them on earth as their Teacher

¹ Acts 1. 9. Nothing can be said here on the text and meaning of Luke 24. 51.

and Prophet, but would watch over them and work for them in heaven as their King and High Priest. As long as Christendom keeps Easter "in sincerity and truth" (1 Cor. 5. 8), so long will Christendom also keep Ascensiontide.

VIII

Inde venturus est, judicare vivos et mortuos.	From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
--	--

Rom. : ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. *Aqu., Afric.* : like us, only occasionally with *unde* for *inde*, and *venturus* without *est*. *Jerus.* : καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. *Antioch.* : Et iterum veniet, judicare vivos et mortuos.

There is no other article of the Creed which we can trace back as far as this in an almost unaltered form.¹ All the objections to which the other articles have been obliged to submit, the

¹ See above p. 86, n. 1. The author of the Gnostic Acts of Peter himself uses the formula : "judex vivorum atque mortuorum" (ed. Lipsius, p. 64, 21 ; 75, 2), while in other places he tries his hand at correction of the Creed. Cf. *Hist. of the Canon*, ii. 839, n. 4.

complaints that the proofs in the discourses of Jesus and the Apostles on which they rest are imperfect, that their appearance in Church confessions was late or isolated, that their original meaning was doubtful, that their importance for the faith and life of Christians was slight—all these must hold their peace in the presence of this article. It is unnecessary to prove this by quotations. Does this concluding sentence, therefore, rejoice in the greater favour of those who are so unwilling to welcome the other articles? It is an open secret that this is by no means the case. Much more the return of Christ, with all the prophecies and hopes depending on it, is for a great number of theologians a most unwelcome article of Biblical and ecclesiastical Christianity. It seems to me that we may deduce from this that they deceive themselves who imagine that their attacks on other articles of the second portion of the Creed, to which we have already referred, contain the reasons, or, at all events, the only real reasons, of their

aversion to them. Neither do I believe that their dislike to the confession of the coming again of Christ and His future judgment has its real ground in the obscurities which cling to some portions of the New Testament prophecies. The reasons must lie deeper. There is no need for me to investigate them. Every earnest Christian will allow, since he knows it from his own experience, that the reasons, which make even a pious man tremble at the thought of the end of the world, cannot by any means be justified, but must rather be conquered.

IX

Credo in Spiritum Sanctum. I believe in the Holy Ghost.

Rom. : καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον.¹—*Aquil.* : Et in Spiritu Sancto.
—*Afr.* : Credimus (et) in Spiritum Sanctum. *Jerus.* : καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸν παράκλητον τὸ λαλήσαν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις.
Antioch. is for several articles of the third division uncertain.

¹ So in the Psalter of Aethelstan ; according to Marcellus εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, which is perhaps more correct, because Dionysius of Rome also writes thus in his condensed formula. See above, p. 32, n. 1.

To say that the Christian put his faith in the Holy Ghost as he did in God and in Christ does not rightly describe the mode of expression in the New Testament. It was not natural to say "I believe in the Holy Ghost" at a time when the life and particularly the Divine worship of the community had to represent manifold forms of life. They were regarded by those who expressed them, as by those who examined and proved them, as direct communications from the Spirit sent by the exalted Jesus and peculiar to the community, to be distinguished from those utterances which depended on intelligent reflection and the use of inherited gifts. Where the Holy Spirit *speaks*,¹ He is heard. Where He manifests Himself as a healing power to those who are suffering from bodily diseases (1 Cor. 12, 9), He is *seen* in His undeniable working. Where, occasionally, He in-

¹ Acts 13. 2 ; 20. 23 ; 21. 4, 11 ; 1 Cor. 12. 3 ff. (Apoc. 2. 7, 11, etc.). In addition, Acts 2. 4, 33 ; 10. 44-46 ; 19. 6 ; 1 Cor. 14. 2 ff.

wardly forces the missionaries to give up or to alter their well-thought-out plans (Acts 16. 6), and where He overpowers not a few to such an extent that they lose their hearing and sight and are in such a state of ecstasy that they imagine they belong to another world, there the Spirit is *felt*. The relation of those who have the Spirit to this Spirit is, it is true, at all times one of faith; for He Himself is invisible, however much His working stretches out into the regions of physical and psychical perception. He is not possessed like the powers of the bodily nature and inherited faculties, or like the skill gained by the exercise of the mind. "He bloweth where He listeth," He giveth when and as He will. He takes possession of a man and then seems to leave him to himself again. We must trust Him that He will not refuse His help at the right time.¹ We must beware that we do not plant difficulties in His way, that

¹ Phil. 1. 19 (to be explained by Matt. 10. 20; Mark 13. 11); Rom. 8. 26; 1 Cor. 12. 11.

we do not quench or grieve Him.¹ In all this the relation of the Christian to the Holy Ghost resembles his relation to the Father in heaven and to the Son of God. But there is a difference between the God, whom no man hath seen, and the Lord Jesus, who is no longer seen by Christians and whom they have not yet seen a second time, on the one hand, and the Holy Ghost whom they bear within them, and of whose presence they are conscious on the other. Although they believe in Him, yet He is above all, the inner witness for all truth, and the pledge of the completion of their state of salvation,² a witness who needs no proof and no confirmation. Especially in a time so rich in *charismatic* appearances as the first decades of Church life it was much more unnatural to say "I believe in the Holy Ghost" than to say "I believe in God and in Christ." Neither can it be proved that the

¹ Eph. 4. 30; 1 Thess. 5. 19.

² Rom. 8. 16; 1 John 5. 6-8; Rom. 8. 23; 2 Cor. 1. 22.

oldest baptismal confession of Pauline times, the existence of which cannot well be doubted, contained a formal confession of faith in the Holy Ghost (see p. 87, n. 2), though by this we do not mean that there was no reference to the Holy Ghost in that original Creed. On the other hand it was no presumption, when the Creed, which is the common root of all later creeds, was first drawn up, to give the Holy Ghost the place after the One God and the Lord Christ, which He has retained ever since in the Christian confession. Ample Biblical grounds for this are to be found in the promises made by Jesus of the Spirit of Truth, who should be sent to the Church as the other Paraclete in His stead, as He Himself had been sent by the Father, in the baptismal command of the Risen One, in the Trinitarian declarations such as Rev. I. 4 f. or 2 Cor. 13. 14, and in the statements of the Apostles already mentioned, which rest on experience of the Holy Ghost as a willing, active, feeling, help-giving,

strength-imparting subject. To these may be added the statements in the earliest sub-apostolic writings,¹ which exactly correspond to these, and which prove that the communities founded by the Apostles from the very beginning held the faith in the Trinity, although we are unable to fix the very year and day in which this faith found a corresponding expression in their baptismal confession. If Christians of a period that is poor in or void of miracles have less palpable experiences of the power of the Holy Ghost ruling in the Church than the Christians of the time of St. Paul, they have all the more need to meditate on faith in the Holy Ghost. They must not put their trust in men and in

¹ Clement, 1 Cor. 64. 6: "Have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit of grace, who is poured out upon us?" Clement seems almost to refer to a formula when he exclaims (1 Cor. 58. 2): "As truly as God lives and the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, the faith and hope of the elect." These are the object and meaning of the faith and hope of Christians. Cf. Lightfoot's notes on the passage. Moreover, Justin, *Apol.* i. 6, 13, 61, and my *Forschungen*, iii. 232.

human handiwork, but in the power of the Spirit of God and of Christ, that Spirit who has never yet abandoned the community and who still works the greatest miracles in her midst at the present time. For what can be more wonderful than that, after all the wise and foolish attacks on the Christian faith in the course of so many centuries, and after all the wise and foolish defences of the same, there should be always 7,000 men or more who hold fast by the Gospel, so full of stumbling blocks and foolishness, and to its old creed. They need never feel alone so long as, instead of counting heads, they believe in a holy, universal Church.

X

Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam. Sanctorum communionem. Remissionem peccatorum. Carnis resurrectionem et vitam aeternam. Amen.

A holy Christian (christliche) Church, the Communion of Saints, Forgiveness of sins, Resurrection of the flesh, and an eternal life. Amen.

Rom. : ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν.¹
Aqu. : Sanctam ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, hujus
 carnis resurrectionem. *Afric.* : Remissionem peccatorum,
 carnis resurrectionem et vitam aeternam per sanctam eccle-
 siam.² *Jerus.* : καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν
 ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς
 ἀνάστασιν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. *Antioch.* (Fragment in
 Chrysostom) : καὶ εἰς ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν καὶ εἰς νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν
 καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

These last articles must be all taken all together in order to bring into view the great variety of forms in the Creeds that are compared. They also belong to one another, inasmuch as the relation of the objects of faith here enumerated

¹ Marcellus also added thereto *ζωὴν αἰώνιον*, an addition widely circulated in the East. It is also found in several Western creeds which in other respects are almost identical with the Roman, as with the addition found in that of Ravenna (Hahn, p. 25).

² So according to Fulgentius of Ruspe (Caspari, ii. 257), and with an equivalent variation in the probably authentic Augustinian sermon 215 (Caspari, ii. 245, 265, 271). But already Cyprian, in *Epist.* 69, 7, gives the baptismal question, which fairly well expresses the thought : “ credis in remissionem peccatorum et vitam aeternam per sanctam ecclesiam ? ” And to the same effect in *Epist.* 70, 2, only he here reverses the order of the first two clauses.

to the Faith itself differs from the personal relationship of the believer to God the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost. It is not well to speak, as we commonly do, without any difference in the mode of expression, of belief in Christ and belief in "the forgiveness of sins" or in "eternal life." There is no ambiguity in the older baptismal confession which has been retained unchanged in substance in the Roman Creed. We can trace back the parts of the third article which are peculiar to it to the beginning of the second century, to the times before Marcion. It lay stress on the difference of the relation by placing the preposition before the three Subjects of the Godhead as objects of faith, and by dropping it before the other articles of faith which follow. By this we are to understand that which we can also express to a certain extent in the translation : "I believe in God, in Christ, in the Holy Ghost," and "I believe a holy Church, Forgiveness of sins, Resurrection of the flesh." The

more careful commentators have brought out this difference clearly and in many ways.¹ And if now and then one of the Fathers uses the dative *ecclesiae*² instead of the accusative *ecclesiam*, the context shows that it does not in the least mean that the obedience of faith is to be rendered as a duty to the Church, which at the same time presents the truth and enforces it. It is only a somewhat unskillful attempt to bring

¹ So Rufinus, c. 36, 39. Faustus of Riez, in the second homily (Caspari, *Anecdota*, p. 338, cf. p. 329 f.), and *de spir. s.* 1, 2 (Engelbrecht, p. 103, etc.), partly in connection with Augustine's sharp distinction between *credere deum*, *in deum*, and *deo*. Cf. Caspari, i. 226, etc. Also the Roman Catechism, §§ 145, 163, still holds strictly to this distinction.

² So Nicetas, according to the probably true reading (Caspari, *Anecdota*, p. 355, n. 17). But no other statements on the Church follow which prove as such that according to her essential constituents she must be invisible, and therefore an object of faith. It cannot therefore be meant otherwise than as in p. 350: *Sequitur ut credas dominicae passioni et passum confitearis Christum*. In the *Explanatio symboli*, dating probably from Ambrose (Caspari, ii. 55, 57; iv. 218, n. 125, p. 221, n. 194), the tradition wavers between *ecclesiam*, *ecclesiae*, *in ecclesiam*, without any apparently intentional distinction being drawn between them in the address.

out more clearly to the ear the difference which was already perceptible in the oldest forms of the Creed between the objects of faith mentioned before and those which followed after, and to say that faith in the Church was not the same as faith in the Triune God. The Church was not to be looked upon as the author of salvation and the creator of the truth, but to be trusted in as a faithful witness to the truth which was to be held with her. But this exceptional alteration in the confession is not to be found in form or in meaning in the original confession and in the common interpretation of the old Church.

If faith is a steadfast waiting for things hoped for and a proving of things not seen (Heb. 11. 1), then the thought of primitive Christianity expressed in the words: "I believe a Holy Church" was very important. For in her being and in her essential character the Church is invisible, however visible and tangible her embodiments and her manifold modes of appearing

may be. Without the indwelling Holy Spirit, whom we cannot see, she would be a corpse; without the Christ who is ascended up into heaven she would only be a trunk; and again without the risen Christ as the corner and the keystone on which her faithful ones, like Him, build themselves up as living stones, she would be a house of cards. Without those generations of the faithful, who have gone before, the Church at any one moment, even without taking into account the divisions and the equally unnatural alliances existing at the time, would be but a fragment. And not only would she be this, but she is in fact. I hold the "holy Church" only in the hope that one day all will be reunited, who belong to one another but are now separated, by time and place, by the imperfection of human knowledge and by death; and that all the children of God, who have ever lived, perfected and reunited, will one day appear that which Christ would have them to be. Until the fulfilment of this hope the Church is

a mystery which I either believe or, otherwise, do not possess. No very lengthy proof is needed to show that such were the thoughts of Christ and His Apostles, for it is only to words of Christ and His Apostles that I have referred incidentally.

The confession of "the holy Church" was not altered by the addition of the attribute "Catholic." We cannot say when it first found its place in the Creed of every single Church. While the African Church did not yet accept it in the 6th century we find it already in the Western creeds of the 4th century, which otherwise agree in every respect with the Roman.¹ It seems to have been already contained in the majority of the Eastern creeds in yet earlier times. According to its original meaning the word "Catholic" reminds us only of an attribute of the Church which contributes essentially to make her an object of faith. The

¹ So in the *Explanation of the Creed* (ii. 134), attributed to the time between 340-360 in Caspari, ii. 168.

oldest Christian author in whose writings we find the words "Catholic Church" calls united Christendom by that name in contrast to single communities.¹ While the members of the latter live together in one town, gather together in one place for Divine worship, are united under one bishop with priests and deacons, the Catholic Church is wherever Christ and faith in Christ are to be found. The one Bishop and Shepherd of the Catholic Church is, according to Ignatius, Christ or God Himself; the Apostles form His presbytery. Although he does not really say that the saints of the Old Testament are members of the Church, still he reckons them as forming part of that company of people whom God through Christ has saved and gathered together. Also they are already in anticipation disciples of Jesus and filled with His Spirit, and since then they have been put into possession of salvation through Christ. Even the an-

¹ Ign. *Smyrn.* 8 ; cf. Polycarp's prayer (*Martyr. Polyc.* c. 8, also c. 5), and my *Ignatius*, p. 315 f., 428 ff., 439 f.

gelic world has part in this community in that angels "believe in the blood of Christ."¹ While Ignatius looks upon each separate community and its whole organization as a carnal thing because the persons, places of assembly, transactions and modes of intercourse in which it exists, are earthly and visible, the universal Church is to him something essentially invisible and spiritual. Her Bishop, her presbyters, her chief members, her bond of unity belong to the invisible world, and it is only in officially organized separate communities, confined by locality, that she has a visible earthly embodiment.

Another use of the words "Catholic Church" developed itself in the 2nd century side by side with this original one, which has never been completely discarded. The bearers of the name of Christian, who on account of their peculiar doctrines separated themselves from, or were shut out of, the Church, were therefore not

¹ *Philad.* 5, 9; *Magn.* 8, 9. On the angelic world, *Smyrn.* 6.

recognised by the majority, who opposed them, as Christians or as members of the Catholic Church, while they regarded themselves as Christians and their separated communities as parts of the "holy Church." Thus arose the opposition of the one great Catholic Church and the smaller heretical communities, which nevertheless called themselves Churches also, and were even so called occasionally by their opponents. Thus "Catholic" became a badge of the orthodox Confession. It is remarkable that even in the first instance of this use of the word "Catholic" which we can trace back in literature, it is a single local community that is so called. When we think of the meaning of the word and of the original use of the term, it seems an absolute contradiction in terms to speak of the Bishop of the Catholic Church of Smyrna.¹ It was not in the nature of things that this unfortunate mode

¹ In the reports of the community in Smyrna, of the year 155, about Polycarp's martyrdom, c. 16 ; cf. the greeting in the superscription and c. 19.

of speech should have had any influence worth mentioning on the insertion of "holy Church" into the Creed. For it cannot be an article of faith to believe the palpable fact that the local communities, whose Bishops were a Polycarp or an Augustine, possessed the same confessions as the large Christian communities of other towns and lands, and were in communion with them, while the same did not hold good of the followers of a Marcion or an Arius.

As an attribute of the Church the word "Catholic" in the Creed can only bear its original meaning. The history of its interpretation justifies this view. Those theologians who had not got the word in their Creed just as often as those who had it in their Creed, point to the heretical communities in order to warn against them, and to assert that the holy Church which is an object of faith is not to be found in them.¹ And on the other hand those who

¹ Augustine, *sermo* 215, 9; *liber de fide et symbolo*, § 21; *de symbolo ad catechumenos*, § 13 (Bass, viii. 1607), Rufin., c. 39.

possessed it as a constituent part of the Creed, and as a subject for exposition, explain the word just as distinctly of the universality of the Church overleaping all the bounds of time and space, as the others who only used it of their own accord for the purpose of explanation. A Nicetas of Romatiana confesses, according to his Creed, "a holy catholic Church," and then adds immediately: "What is the Church but the assembly of the saints? All from the very beginning of the world, be they patriarchs such as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or Prophets, or Martyrs, or other righteous men who have been, who are, who shall be, are *one* Church because they, sanctified by *one* faith and *one* conversation, sealed by *one* Spirit, are *one* body whose head is Christ, as it is written. I say even more, the angels also and all the heavenly powers and dominions are included in the covenant of this *one* Church."¹ It cannot be denied that

¹ Caspari, *Anecdota*, p. 356. We find the same thought in Augustine, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, 56-64 (§§ 15, 16)

even long before the times of a Nicetas or an Augustine this truly universal Church, which is the object of our faith, had become identified in an inadmissible manner with the Church on earth of that period together with her bishops and constitutions. But of this the word "Catholic," of which even theologians often appear to have a fear as of ghosts, is innocent. On the contrary, it forces him who still believes that a baptism properly administered can never be an empty ceremony, to raise his eyes beyond the bounds of his own Confession, and also beyond the office-bearers, the ordinances, and the separations of his own peculiar Church, to that universal Church which is *sanctorum omnium congregatio*.¹ That false identification of the empirical Church with the true Church can be furthest traced

and elsewhere. He defines the idea in a very popular but less far-reaching way in *sermo* 213, 6.

¹ This is Nicetas' exact expression. (See the former note; cf. Hilary on Psalm 118. (119.). *Litera Samech*, § 6 (ed. Zingerle, p. 490, 14), "congregatio sancta" (v. l. sanctorum).

back in the African Church, which did not call the Church "Catholic" in her Creed. On the other hand it was there also that the doubtful form, not without danger, was given to the article, according to which "the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection and eternal life," were to be obtained through the mediation of "the holy Church." Even this formula allows of a really Christian interpretation. The Christian cannot say only, as Luther does in his Catechism, that the Holy Ghost forgives him and all the faithful all their sins in that Christendom which He has gathered together, enlightened and sanctified. For it is also true that by the service of the Church and her means of grace each individual is made partaker of the gifts of salvation. But still it is well that the African formula did not spread and maintain itself in the Church, for it lends itself very easily to a false view, and it was probably from a false view that it arose in the beginning.

The Communion of Saints

The origin and the original meaning of *sanc-torum communionem* are still obscure. The oldest commentator of whom we can say with tolerable certainty that he not only made use of this idea in this connection, but that he also possessed it in his Creed, is Nicetas, about the year 400,¹

¹ I do not know of any exhaustive dissertation on this obscure personage. I assume that the sermon published in Caspari, *Anecdota*, pp. 341-360, is identical with that mentioned by Gennadius, *Vir. ill.* 22, and called *liber de symbolo*, and that the author was really Niceas or Nicetas, Bishop of Romatiana. Romatiana (or Romesiana, Remesiana, etc.) was situated where Bela or Ak-Palanka now stands, between Nisch and Pirot in Servia. It seems to me that the author of the sermon cannot be identified with the Bishop Nicetas of Aquileia, to whom Leo the Great wrote in 458, because it seems incomprehensible that the Creed of Aquileia should have been so fully developed in the time between Rufinus and this Bishop of Aquileia as we must then assume. For example, we find missing the *unicum* of the second article and the *descensus* which Rufinus possessed, and which the Church of Aquileia, according to the notice in Venantius Fortunatus in the 6th century had again, or rather had always possessed. Our Nicetas is much more probably the missionary bishop of Dacia, who is praised by Paulinus of Nola (*Ep.* 29, 14 ;

to whom we have often already referred. We see that he understood *sanctorum* of persons, and indeed, as it appears from the context, of all the saints and believers of all times. Further, *communio* is an abstract term to him, a relationship of each individual to these saints, and therefore a communion with them. Finally, it counts with him as a blessing to which the believer in *one* Church shall hereafter attain by virtue of his belonging to it, and on the supposition that he will hold fast to this communion with the Catholic Church.¹ This reference to

Poema, 17 and 27; Migne, 61, col. 321, 483, 652). This theory is not affected by the fact that this sermon on the Creed is ten years older than the *Expositio* of Rufinus, and that Rufinus meant to include Nicetas among the earlier preachers on the Creed. (See p. 19 n. 1.)

¹ At the conclusion of the sentences translated above, (p. 185 above) and a quotation from Col. 1. 20, he says: "Ergo in hac una ecclesia crede te *communione* consecuturum esse *sanctorum*. Scito unam hanc esse ecclesiam catholicam in omni orbe terrae constitutam, cuius *communione* debes firmiter tenere." A *Missale Florentinum* in Caspari, iv. 301 f., seems to be dependent on Nicetas. But the text is probably not in order. Cf. Mone, *Lateinische*

the future gives a narrower meaning to the idea than would appear from the context. The saints with whom the Christian first hopes to have this communion in the future, that is to say if he dies in a state of salvation, can only be those with whom he stood in no direct communication here on earth, that is those already dead. This connection is elsewhere more clearly expressed but presented in such a manner that the confession of "the communion of saints" expresses the hope and the wish to be preserved with departed Christians in the enjoyment and fellowship of hope during the whole earthly life.¹ Again, another old com-

und griechische Messen, p. 35, "[*da nobis*] in communione omnium sanctorum remissionem omnium nostrorum criminum."

¹ Pseudoaugust. *sermo* 242, ed. Bass, xvi. 1302 [falsely 243], 1304: "Sanctorum communionem, id est cum illis Sanctis, qui in hac, quam suscepimus fide defuncti sunt, societate et spei communione teneamur." The conjunctive is afterwards "credamus." The address *de symbolo* (Bass, xvii. 1960), which is compiled out of this amongst many others, mixes all together.

mentator remarks that whereas during this life the gifts of the Holy Spirit appear to be unequally divided, they will be shared in common in eternity, so that each single saint will receive yonder that which was lacking in him of spiritual gifts in this life by participation in the virtues of others;¹ that is to say in a concrete form—the thief on the cross will not be conscious of any defect in eternity when he compares himself with an Apostle John, who, during a long and holy life, returned the love of Him who had first loved him, Martha will not stand behind Mary. A spiritual community of goods, amongst all the members of the Church, is set forth as the goal of the Christian's hope. Whilst here, the saints, according to the Biblical view and that of the ancient Church, are referred to as plainly as possible as members of the community of believers. Faustus of Riez interprets the saints in a much narrower sense, and makes use of this opportunity to speak of the worship

¹ Pseudoaugust. *sermo* 240.

of saints and their relics.¹ He does not give any explanation of this view; for it need not be said that *sanctorum communionem* cannot be interpreted "the worship of saints." We only see that Faustus had narrowed the meaning of saints. But this remained, I imagine, an isolated case. Others, again, move in quite another direction, making *sanctorum* neuter and referring it to the Sacraments, especially to the Lord's Supper. They understand *sanctorum communionem* as the participation in the holy things and holy gifts offered in the Sacraments. This is the view, if I rightly understand it, of a sermon wrongly attributed to Augustine,² of

¹ Hom. ii. *de symbolo* (Caspari, *Anecd.* p. 338), a warning against exaggeration; *tract. de symbolo* (Caspari, iv. 273), controverting the opponents of saint worship. Caspari's warning in the introduction of the latter volume, p. iv., "against hasty conclusions," seems to have been given in vain.

² Pseudoaugust. *sermo* 241: "Credentes ergo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum habentes communionem, quia, ubi est fides sancta, ibi est et *sancta communio*, credere vos quoque in corpore resurrectionum et remissionem pec-

a free paraphrase of the younger Apostles' Creed from the old Irish Church,¹ and of an old French

catorum oportet. *Omne sacramentum baptismi* in hoc constat, ut resurrectionem corporum et remissionem peccatorum nobis a deo praestanda credamus." I understand by *sancta communio* the right celebration of the Lord's Supper, which is set in relation to the resurrection and the forgiveness of sins, just as baptism is set subsequently.

¹ It cannot be understood in any other way, since in this Creed, which is contained in a MS. of the 7th century, *abremissa peccatorum* is placed before *sanctorum communio*, so that the latter is separated from *ecclesiam catholicam* (Caspari, ii. 284). Forgiveness of sins is placed first because it refers to baptism, while "participation in holy things" is naturally placed second because it refers to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. I do not entirely understand Caspari's objection to this view, ii. 287, which he derives from capital letters in *Sanctorum* instead of *sanctorum* (is this in the MS. itself?). Lastly, the form *abremissa* instead of *remissio*, and the last sentence, *haec omnia credo in deum*, point to an intimate connection with the circles from which the younger Apostles' Creed went forth. Compare Faustus n Caspari, *Anecd.* p. 338 n. 11 ; *de spir. s.* 1, 2 (Engelbrecht p. 104, 25-27, where both may be read). It remains unexplained how a later Armenian Creed coincides with the Irish order in "*ecclesiam sanctam, remissionem peccatorum, communionem sanctorum*" (Catergian, *De fidei symbolo, quo Armeni utuntur*, Viennæ, 1893, p. 39 ; it is given otherwise in German in Caspari, ii. 11, cf. p. 46).

translation.¹ The great variety of translations in comparatively ancient times prove at all events that the formula itself must be much older than the explanations which differ so widely from each other. It was an old heirloom even in the time of Nicetas of Romatiana and still more so in the time of Faustus of Riez,² of which the meaning was no longer clear and certain.

It is very remarkable that not one of the old commentators on the Creed give the meaning which the words unquestionably possessed in the language of the African Church about the year 400.³ The Donatists, like the Catholics, under-

¹ See Hahn, p. 58; *La communion des seintes choses*. Theobaldus Brito (Caspari, *Anecd.* p. 300), in his commentary, lays great stress at all events on the Sacraments, but appears to understand *sancti* of the blessed dead.

² This is confirmed by the fact that not a few commentaries pass it over in silence; for example, one belonging to Carolingian times, quoted by Caspari, iv. 285; also that in the *Missale Gallic. vetus* in Mabillon, *Liturg. Gall.* p. 342. Even Nicetas and Faustus do not give a real explanation (see above, p. 188 *seq.*).

³ G. v. Zezschwitz, in his *System of Catechising*, ii.² 1, 123

stand *communio* to signify community of the Churches and indeed in the concrete sense of this word of ours. They called the fellowship of orthodox Christians, the Church itself, *sanctorum communio*. It was therefore synonymous there with *congregatio sanctorum* or *ecclesia*. If we might accept this as the meaning of the same words in the Creed, it would be, as Luther and the Evangelicals generally understand it, an explanation in apposition to *sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*. But it is very improbable that this was the original meaning, for then the disappearance from tradition as early as 400 of the exact original meaning, and the luxuriant growth of the most diverse meanings in after times, would

mentions as the only three passages which have as yet been referred to: the letter of the Donatists to Flavius Marcellinus (Aug. ed. Bass, xvii. 2532); the Donatist decree of excommunication in August., *Enarr. in psalm. 36, sermo 2. 20* (Bass, v. 369); and a passage in Augustine (*sermo 52, 6*; Bass, vii. 304). The meaning in all these passages is quite clear; synonymous expressions are heaped up in the first. Perhaps Mone's Fragment, which is mentioned on p. 189, note 1, should be placed here.

remain an unsolved riddle. The prevailing practice in the African language is of little use as a proof, for the African Church did not possess this article in their Creed. The interpretations of these words in the Creed, which have been quoted, have this in common, that all unite in taking *communio* in an abstract sense. May not this be the origin of the tradition which has become so vague? Further, if for the reasons given this article of the Creed must have been contained even in very early times in the creed of some one Church, and very probably in the South-Gallican, it is not impossible, but rather highly probable, that the Latin words are the translation of a Greek original. This could scarcely have been anything else than τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων, or better, ἁγίων κοινωνίαν,¹ which, according to the language of the Greek

¹ Cf. the Greek translations in Caspari, ii. 12, 20, 23. With reference to the meaning of the Greek expression itself see Caspari, ii. 46; v. Zezschwitz, *passim*, p. 122, and the treatise of Caspari, which he quotes, but which I cannot obtain at present.

Church, could only be interpreted as "Participation in the holy things." The belief was thus expressed that in the Sacraments and through the same, especially in the Holy Communion, the gifts offered therein were really received. For it is not the Sacrament as an action, but the consecrated elements and the miraculous gifts offered therein, which are τὰ ἅγια.¹ And yet it is remarkable that Augustine, who had not *sanctorum communio* either in his native Milanese Creed or in the African, should speak of *communio sacramentorum* in one of his sermons on the former, placing it just where Nicetas and others speak of *sanctorum communio*. He extols the

¹ Already *The Teaching of the Apostles* (c. 9) refers the verse Matt. vii. 6 (τὸ ἅγιον) to the Lord's Supper. The holy gift offered in the Lord's Supper belongs only to those made holy by Baptism. According to ancient Liturgies like that of Jerusalem in the time of Cyril (*Catech. mystag.* v. 18), and that of Antioch in the time of Chrysostom (Hammond, *The Ancient Liturgy of Antioch*, p. 17), the priest immediately before the Administration cried: τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις. Cf. *Const. Apost.* viii. 12, ed. Lagarde, p. 259, 13; Swainson, *Greek Liturgies*, p. 64, 136, 169.

holy Church which, unlike the Donatist sect, allowed even the wicked to remain in sacramental fellowship, and committed judgment of them to God.¹ When he uses side by side with this the expression *sacramentorum participatio*² for the same thing, it seems as though they must be different translations of the same Greek original. In Latin as in German it is difficult to give an exact translation of *κοινωνία*.³ *Ἄγρυα* would certainly first suggest to Greeks the Lord's Supper; still the comprehensiveness of the term would admit quite as well of a reference to the gifts offered in Baptism, and therefore to the thought of both Sacraments. In many Oriental creeds

¹ *Sermo* 214, 11 (Bass, viii. 948); cf. *Epist. contra Donat. de unitate eccl.* 74 (Bass, xii. 488). I may remark in passing that the Cod. Remigiensis, on which the printed text of the sermon in the Benedictine edition solely depends, is now in Bamberg (E. iii. 21).

² *De catechiz. rud.* 8 (§ 12, Bass, xi. 665); *de baptismo contra Donat.* vii. 93 (Bass, xii. 254).

³ Cf. my dissertation on Phil. 1. 3-11 in the *Zeitschr. f. kirchl. Wissenschaft*, 1885, p. 190, esp. n. 4.

Baptism is referred to just in this place.¹ Besides, who can deny that the mention of the Sacraments in the Creed, and specially after the Church, is quite in place? If this was the original meaning of *sanctorum communio*, it is plain that it did not mean: I believe that Sacraments exist, but I believe that I in the Sacraments partake of the holy things of the other world; the Consecrated Bread which I eat with the community that keeps the feast and the Consecrated Cup which I drink with them are truly "the Com-

¹ Cf. the Creed of Jerusalem, p. 175 *supra*, and the Nicene-Constantinopolitan, besides Caspari, i. 3, 5, 117; ii. 7. To this belongs also the conclusion of the rule of faith in Aphraates, *Hom.* i. p. 22: "and that we believe in the resurrection of the dead, and further believe in the mystery (sacrament) of baptism. That is the faith of the Church of God." Cf. further, in spite of its legendary setting, the very original Creed in the appendix of the Sacramentary of Bobbio (Mabillon, *Mus. ital.* i. 2, 396): "Credo in ecclesiam sanctam.—Per baptismum sanctum remissionem peccatorum.—Carnis resurrectionem in vitam aeternam." This points, just like the Canon of the Bible which follows, to Eastern influences. Cf. *Hist. of the Canon*, ii. 287.

munion of the Body and Blood of Christ"; I believe that the water of Baptism is not mere water but a bath of the New Birth.

Though I, for the reasons which I have given and suggested, consider it very probable that this article was originally intended to witness to belief in the efficacy of the Sacraments, there is nothing I should consider so foolish as to desire to build practical conclusions upon this interpretation of such a disputable and abstruse view. Amongst such we must reckon the early introduction of another translation instead of that which Luther introduced and brought into prominence, "The community of Saints."¹ The

¹ In opposition to the translation which he discovered, "The Communion of Saints," of which he says "that it has so worked its way into use that it would be difficult to eradicate it, and the alteration of one word might soon be called heresy" (Müller, p. 457). The Roman Catechism, it is true, also takes *sanctorum communio* as a kind of explanation of the article on the Church (§ 65, *veluti explanationem quandam*), but explains the idea itself in an abstract sense of the inner communion of Christians with each other and with God and Christ (§ 164) in which they participate by love (§ 166-169) and by fellowship in the Sacraments (§ 165)

thoughts which Luther worked out in the long Catechism, together with the justification of his translation and his view of the article "as a gloss or explanation" of the article on the Church, are much more valuable than a translation which may possibly, though only just possibly, represent more exactly the original meaning. The omission of the words on account of the uncertainty about their original meaning would be just as foolish as would be the mutilation of the whole Creed on the same grounds. What would become of the Bible if analogous principles were applied to it? The community confesses in these words of the Creed, according to the interpretation and meaning in use amongst us, a truly Christian and Evangelical truth. To this all would gladly subscribe, who think that the author of this article of the Creed wished to express by it a belief, which is just as Christian and not less Evangelical, that the Sacraments which Jesus instituted in the Church still have the same efficacy by_virtue of His Institution

and transmit the holy gifts which were connected with them by His promise.

"The Forgiveness of Sins . . . Eternal Life."

"THE forgiveness of sins," the greatest of the gifts of grace, and that which presupposes all others, has stood in this place from time immemorial. It describes the present state of salvation, in opposition to the state of guilt before believing, and outside "the Holy Church," as well as in opposition to the state of perfection, in which no sin and no more remembrance of sin affecting the life of men will exist. Certainly where "forgiveness of sins is there is also life and blessedness," and as certainly the new life, belonging to this present time, of the justified and reconciled, longs for and reaches forth in hope to its completion. Therefore the Confession cannot end better than with the attestation of this hope. But every one must also acknowledge that our Creed is to be preferred to the

Roman, because it does not end with the attainment of "the resurrection of the dead" but with "eternal life." Those also who adhere to the Roman Creed, which has not got this beautiful conclusion, have endeavoured in many ways to supply the deficiency.¹ This conclusion is not original, for then it would be inexplicable why it should have been cut off in Rome. However, it is immaterial that we do not know when and where it was first added. "The resurrection of the flesh," which gives to the Christian hope of an everlasting life its peculiar character, has, so far as we know, never been wanting. We cannot well contradict our great Reformer when he says in the long Catechism that this is not well expressed in German, and when he goes on to say: "In good German

¹ So Marcellus (see p. 175 n. 1); so Augustine twice in commentaries on the Milanese form, *i.e.* the Roman Creed (Caspari ii. 272); so also many creeds which in other respects are essentially identical with the Roman, or are more nearly related to it than to our Apostles' Creed, such as that of Ravenna (Hahn, p. 25), the African (Hahn, pp. 31, 33, 34); also a similar one in the Appendix to the Sacramentary of Bobbio (see p. 199, n. 1 *supra*).

we should speak of the resurrection of the body or of the corpse, but this is of no great importance as long as we understand the word rightly." It is to be noticed that Luther as a translator of the Bible did not hesitate to write "flesh" ¹ in countless passages where the Bible, like the Creed, uses the Semitic word "flesh" in a sense which deviates much more from the common German and the Western mode of speech in general. Further, it is obvious that Luther's scruple had nothing to do with representations of the fact itself,—the hope of the resurrection of the flesh, which is founded not only on the Resurrection of Christ, but which rested before that on Christ's word and deed. The plain and unequivocal expression of it had already in Apostolic times been very needful. Where heathen views, as in Corinth, still exercised power over the modes of thought of the newly converted, natural reflection, after their first acceptance of the Gospel, immediately withstood

¹ *E.g.* John 8. 15 ; 17. 2 ; Romans 3. 20 ; 11. 14. Elsewhere he translates it "man," *e.g.* Matt. 24. 22.

this portion of it. They acquiesced in the Resurrection of Christ, and, without exactly disputing life after death, they denied the future resurrection of the dead. We know from St. Paul's refutation that this expectation was looked upon as absurd. Others were more careful in their opposition to the Christian Confession. They gave out that they also on their side believed in a resurrection of the dead, only it must be rightly understood. The resurrection of the dead had already taken place,¹ clearly not in the special sense which the preaching of Jesus and His Apostles connected with the words, "the dead will rise again." This was only a figurative expression for an event of quite another nature, which often repeated itself. Early enough we hear of allegorical misinterpretations by which this marvellous statement was justified. The dead were raised when unbelieving heathen attained to a Christian confession of God, and a certain kind of resurrection from the dead is

¹ 2 Tim. 2. 18. On the misinterpretations here supposed, cf. *Hist. of the Canon*, ii. 901 f.

experienced by many men who beget children ; while they themselves are tottering to the grave they live again, and when they are dead they live on in their children. There was thus a resurrection of the flesh side by side with a resurrection of the spirit. Marcion had already before him the testimony of Jesus and of the Apostle Paul, which had been committed to writing. He remodelled both from what was, according to his idea, an uncorrupted gospel, but it was one which had never been written before his time. He disputed the resurrection of the flesh, that is of the body, and maintained that the soul only would be saved. St. Paul's judgment (1 Cor. 15. 50) that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God"¹ furnished him and others with their chief argument, but it was one which had been used by others before Marcion to controvert the real Resurrection

¹ Tertull. *de carne Christi*, 48 ; c. *Marc.* v. 9. 10. Cf. *Hist. of the Canon*, i. 615, and the fragment of Justin's work on the Resurrection in Methodius, *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* viii. 6 ; Bonwetsch, *Methodius*, p. 232.

of the buried body of Jesus.¹ In the time of Irenæus all the opponents of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection appealed to this statement.² It was also the hobby-horse of the Manicheans.³ But many who pretend to be theologians in the nineteenth century ride it still more proudly than their predecessors, when they maintain that the confession of "the resurrection of the flesh" is in direct opposition to the doctrine of St. Paul. The Fathers of the Church from Justin to Augustine have already given the right answer: Only that which has fallen can rise again. It is, therefore, meaningless to talk of the resurrection of the dead when all that is meant by it is a continuation of the life of the spirit when freed from the body by death. As Augustine says, with reference to St.

¹ Iren. i. 30, 13. The disciples are said to have misinterpreted the appearances of the Risen One from ignorance of this saying.

² Iren. v. 9, 1; Tertull. *de carne Christi*, 48.

³ August. *c. Faustum*, xvi. 29; *c. Adimantum*, 12, 4; *c. advers. legis*, 6, 22; cf. *de agone Christ.* 31, 33; *retract.* i. 17, 22; ii. 3.

Paul's statement, the chapter in which it is found should be read right through instead of deceitfully tearing a sentence from the context and holding fast to that alone. "Only read it through," says Augustine; "a commentary is needless, for the matter is not obscure." "Flesh and blood" here, as everywhere else in the Bible, means man as he is by birth and nature. Since such an one, as Jesus Himself taught, cannot inherit the kingdom of God, St. Paul exhorts all to bear the likeness of the second Adam, the risen and glorified Saviour, in this life.¹ But on this same truth is also founded the confident hope that the bodily life, which Christians shall win again through the resurrection, will not be a repetition of that which became theirs by birth, but will be like unto the Body of the Risen Jesus, transformed, spiritualized, transfigured, and yet a bodily life and therefore flesh. The verse 1 Corinthians 15. 39 shows that

¹ Thus especially Tertullian *c. Marc.* v. 10, on the ground of the right reading (*portemus, inquit, non portabimus, praeceptive, non promissive*). Cf. Col. iii. 9 f.; Eph. iv. 22 ff.

St. Paul includes in the expression "the flesh" the spiritual body of the Risen Christ and that of the Christians who attain to the Resurrection. For he shows by examples taken from ordinary natural history that "all flesh is not the same flesh," in the very passage in which he opposes the absurd consequences which would arise from the complete identity and similarity of the present body with the future. He then exchanges the word "flesh" for its synonym "body," and shows how, even in this world, the most varied degrees of glory may exist in bodily appearances. All this must be taken into account in speaking of the resurrection of the dead. A spiritual body, a body of flesh that has been changed and transfigured by the spirit, is, according to St. Paul, to be looked for at the return of the Lord for those Christians who shall be living upon the earth as well as for the dead. These are in substance the thoughts with which the Fathers from the second to the fifth century opposed the attempts that were made to set aside by means of Biblical words the doctrine of the

Bible on the resurrection of the dead. They still suffice to-day.

It cannot be said that the expression "resurrection of the flesh," which is founded on the Bible,¹ and which is familiar in the Creed and in early Church literature, ever gave rise to serious misapprehension. The Church of Lyons records, with the calmness born of the faith which has overcome the world, that in the year 177 the heathen persecutors burnt the bodies of the martyrs and threw their ashes into the Rhone. The chroniclers add only : " This they did as though they could overcome God and rob the martyrs of the new birth (of their bodies). They did it, as they say, that they might have no hope of the resurrection, in the confidence of which they have introduced a new and a strange religion amongst us, despising torments

¹ Cf. Luke 24. 39 ; Acts 2. 26, 31 ; Clem. I. Cor. 26 (in which a quotation from Job 19. 26 is introduced) ; Herm. *Sim.* V. 7, 2 (This thy flesh ; the same) ; Clem. II. Cor. 9 ; Ign. *Smyrn.* 3 ; Justin, *dial.* 80 *extr.* ; the fragments of a genuine history of his on the resurrection, c. 2 ff. (Otto II.,³ 214 ff.).

and ready to face death with joy. Now let us see whether they will rise again, and whether their God will help them and deliver them out of our hands."

It was the custom in some Churches, when the baptismal confession was made, to say, "I believe in the resurrection of this flesh."¹ The confessor made at the same time the sign of the cross on his forehead or his breast, meaning thereby: This my mortal body shall be made worthy of eternal life. That might have given rise to misconceptions, but I do not know that the literature of the early Church contains any words on the resurrection so ambiguous as those contained in one verse of the glorious hymn on the resurrection composed by the Electress Louisa Henrietta. The preachers who accept that formula and comment on it do not neglect to remind us that the body which we hope for is a spiritual body, raised above all the mean-

¹ Rufinus, c 36, 41, 43, 45-47; Nicetas (Caspari, *Anecd.* p. 357 f.); Pseudoaug. *sermo* 242; *Liturgia Mozar.* (Hahn, p. 36); *Missale Florentinum* in Caspari, iv. 302 (n. 73).

ness and weakness of this present life. Only the fervour of the personal appropriation of the confession of the community could find expression in this definition of the Creed. If ever the danger should arise that the faith of the confessing community drew unwholesome nourishment from the words "resurrection of the flesh," which had degenerated into the superstition that our life in eternity would be similar to our life on earth, there would be nothing to prevent the substitution of "a resurrection of the body" for these words, as Luther wished ; or, as is the practice of many Eastern creeds, "the resurrection of the dead." It is even quite possible that the latter expression in the Creed was the original one, and was only later replaced by the plainer expression, "resurrection of the flesh," in opposition to the various misinterpretations which have been cropping up ever since the days of St. Paul.¹ But I have never seen the slightest sign of that danger, and I imagine that in

¹ Cf. the reflections of Caspari, iii. 154-161, which do not exhaust the subject.

this and many other respects we find ourselves in a similar position to the Christians of the second century, who expressly confessed "the resurrection of the flesh" in order that they might not give up that which was peculiar to their Christian hope.

The results of this investigation may be summed up as follows. Judging from its contents our Creed has a full right to the title Apostolical. It does not contain one sentence which cannot be well derived from the history and teaching of Jesus, and the explanatory and illustrative teaching and preaching of the Apostles. It answers also in a remarkable manner to its original use as a baptismal confession, and as a plain, popular confession of the Christian faith of the community. For it does not contain a single sentence which does not correspond with an event in the historical revelation of God essential for sanctifying faith. It contains, in classic brevity, in rhythmic melody, and with a completeness attained by no other confession, all that a Christian ought to remember if he would find all his consolation and his joy in that

which God has done through Christ,—in this must be included the creation,—and in all that He has promised yet to do for our complete redemption through Christ. The picture of Jesus going in and out amongst His people as teacher and benefactor has been found wanting. Must a confession that is used at Baptisms and Confirmations relate Bible history? This history does not admit of a compendious abridgment in a few words. Its charm and its winning credibility are found in its epic breadth. Surely a “character sketch” of Jesus does not belong to a formula of confession. Who could draw it so that all would believe in it? What has already been said in olden times of the pictorial representation of Jesus applies also here: “It is well that the painters have not been able to paint a single picture of the Lord that is satisfactory to all.”¹ Jesus Himself has made known His character for us as far as was necessary, above all in “the good confession,” which He witnessed, suffering “before Pontius Pilate,” and through the sacri-

¹ Cf. my *Acta Joannis*, p. 214, 7.

fice of His life on the Cross, to which His whole life of service pointed from the very beginning.¹ The Cross is the best compendium of the Gospel history. St. Paul as a mission preacher at times confined himself exclusively to this compendium of the Gospel (1 Cor. 2. 2). Whoever has taken the story of the Cross to heart will also know how to value the history which took place between the Virgin birth and the Crucifixion, and will willingly listen to the Evangelists, while they relate it to him again in its manifold fulness of life. Neither will he find fault with the Evangelists because they are almost silent on the first thirty years of the life of Jesus, on "the formation of His character" and His "moral development."

It has been said that an instructive explanation of the deeds recorded and the expression of their evangelical meaning are wanting. But is not this supposed deficiency in the Creed really an advantage? As long as our Gospels (Evangelien) bear this name we may call the simple recital of facts Evan-

¹ Matt. 20. 28 ; cf. John 1. 29 ; 2. 17-22.

gelical (evangelisch), instead of framing them with wordy reflections. For the educational purposes for which the Creed still serves it is really an advantage that it allows the teacher freedom of movement. Also for the continual liturgical use of the Creed it is a great blessing that it does not express reflections resting on instructive thoughts, which we should be obliged to make our own in thought and word, but that it places before our eyes in broad outline the wonderful works of God. As long as we cherish these in faith, and appropriate them to ourselves, they are as little likely to grow old and wearisome as the rising and setting of the sun each day on which God permits us to behold the beauty of His works. How many priceless productions of Christian thought we owe to this quality of our Creed! To mention only one example, which has not yet grown old. L. A. Petri's meditations on the Creed,¹ according to my view, contain infinitely more understanding of Christian

¹ Dr. L. A. Petri, *The Faith in Short Meditations*, 3rd ed., Hanover, 1872.

truth, and experience of the heights and depths of human life and the strength of healthy, sound thought, than all the literature as yet produced by the advanced theological school of the present day, and that too in language which derives its strength and dignity from its truthfulness.

When we consider the importance of the Creed as "a rule of truth" for the community and its teachers, the matter-of-fact nature of its contents is another advantage over which we may well rejoice. The more reflections on the nature of faith that a creed contains the more it bears traces of the common modes of thought, the theological culture and the ecclesiastical conflicts of the period in which it arose. The more transitory it is in its nature the less does it serve as the suitable expression of Christian faith for all times, which the Lord, when He comes, again hopes to find, not in many, it is true, but in some. The later church confessions were an historical necessity in order to preserve the faith against distortion and misrepresentation. But higher than all these formulas of

Christian truth as opposed to error stands the ancient simple confession of Christianity. It states what God has done for us in Christ, what He daily does in us and will yet do if we cast not away our trust but hold fast to our confession.

Finally, the Creed has one advantage over most of the other confessions, which divide those who bear the name of Christians, in that it unites them. The Creed maintains throughout Western Christendom the same predominating superiority over all others as a popular confession that it does with us. The Eastern Churches confess the substance of our Creed, though in different forms. It is not even true that the Greek Church has never acknowledged the Western Creed, nor allowed the Apostolic origin of their own baptismal confession. The fable of the composition of the original Creed by the united deliberations of the Apostles¹ was certainly not invented by Ambrose and Rufinus and other men of Latin speech, who may have related it before them, but

¹ Cf. pp. 7, 19 n. 1.

was brought over from the East. We find its characteristic features in a treatise of the third century, originally written in Greek, which is called *The Catholic Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and Holy Disciples of the Redeemer*. It is described as a work composed by the Apostles themselves very soon after the Council of the Apostles A.D. 51.

This book, commonly called the "Didascalia," does not contain the exact words of a fixed baptismal confession as it had been composed by the Apostles, only many points of agreement with such a confession.¹ But the germ of the fable is to be found in the following narrative in the Didascalia: "We, the Apostles, gathered ourselves together in Jerusalem and consulted what should be done. We agreed unanimously to write this Catholic Didascalia for the strengthening of you all in that which we hold fast. You must honour 'God the Almighty and Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost,' and you must exercise yourselves in the

¹ Cf. p. 98, n. 1 *supra*. I have translated Lagarde's text, p. 102 ff., without giving the additions of the second hand.

Holy Scriptures and 'believe in the resurrection of the dead,' and use all creatures with thanksgiving, etc." The confession of the Triune God is placed foremost among the doctrines enumerated by the Apostolic Council. I am unable to trace back the further development of this idea in the Greek Church. Nevertheless it lived on there. In the letter of Leo the Great to Flavian, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Roman Creed of that time is spoken of as "the purest source of the Christian faith." It is praised as the common confession of all the baptized on earth, quoted in sections word for word, solemnly approved and formally canonized by the fourth General Council of Chalcedon (451). The Greek Bishops at the Council exclaimed directly after it had been read: "This is the faith of the Fathers. This is the faith of the Apostles."¹

Even more than this was done at the Trullan Council of the year 692, the so-called *Concilium*

¹ Hefele, *Conziliengesch.* ii.² 440 ff., 453 f., 547. The scruples of some bishops did not refer to this.

quini-sexturn. The fathers of this council in their first canon confess "that which was delivered by the eye-witnesses and servants of the Word, the Apostles of the Church chosen by God." They then acknowledge the faith more exactly determined by the 318 fathers of Nicæa against Arius, as well as the five Œcumenical Councils which followed.¹ We can only understand by this that the Greeks wish to point to that confession which was in use among them as a baptismal confession, before and for a considerable time after the Council of Nicæa, as an inheritance from the times of the Apostles, even as a work of the Apostles. This opinion of the bishops in the year 692 is of as little importance as the Eastern legend of the composition of the Creed from the contributions of the

¹ Bruns' *Canones apost. et conc.* i. 34. Professor Fr. Nielsen, of Copenhagen, was kind enough to point this out to me. No other explanation is satisfactory. Cf. Hefele, *Consilien-geschichte*, iii.² 330. "The declaration of their adherence to the Apostolic Creed," etc. The difference between this canon and the first canon of the Council of Chalcedon should be noticed. Bruns, p. 25 ; and also Hefele, ii. 505.

twelve Apostles. But both views are nevertheless embodiments of the historical truth that the first outline of the Creed arose in the time of the Apostles, and therefore most certainly not without their aid. History, not legend, gives us a right to the ennobling thought that in and with our Creed we confess that which since the days of the Apostles has been the faith of united Christendom.

THE EXPOSITOR'S BIBLE.

EDITED BY THE

REV. W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A., LL.D.

Separate Volumes, 7/6. Price to subscribers for any single series, 24/- not except the Eighth (7 volumes), the subscription price of which is 28/- net.

FIRST SERIES.

- Colossians and Philemon.** By ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D.
The Gospel according to St. Mark.
By the Rt. Rev. G. A. CHADWICK, D.D., Bishop of Derry.
The Book of Genesis. By the Rev. Professor MARCUS DODS, D.D.
The First Book of Samuel. By Professor W. G. BLAICKIE, D.D., LL.D.
The Second Book of Samuel. By the same Author.
The Epistle to the Hebrews. By Principal T. C. EDWARDS, D.D.

SECOND SERIES.

- The Epistle to the Galatians.** By Professor G. G. FINDLAY, B.A.
The Pastoral Epistles. By the Rev. A. PLUMMER, D.D.
The Book of Isaiah. I.—XXXIX. Vol. I.
By Professor GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D.
The Book of Revelation. By Professor W. MILLIGAN, D.D.
The First Epistle to the Corinthians.
By Professor MARCUS DODS, D.D.
The Epistles of St. John.
By the Most Rev. W. ALEXANDER, D.D., D.C.L., Archbishop of Armagh.

THIRD SERIES.

- Judges and Ruth.** By the Rev. R. A. WATSON, D.D.
The Prophecies of Jeremiah. By the Rev. C. J. BALL, M.A.
The Book of Isaiah. Chaps. XL. to LXVI. Vol. II.
By Professor GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D.
The Gospel of St. Matthew. By J. MONRO GIBSON, D.D.
The Book of Exodus.
By the Rt. Rev. G. A. CHADWICK, D.D., Bishop of Derry.
The Gospel of St. Luke. By the Rev. H. BURTON, M.A.

FOURTH SERIES.

- Ecclesiastes, or the Preacher.** By SAMUEL COX, D.D.
The Epistles of St. James and St. Jude.
By the Rev. ALFRED PLUMMER, D.D.
The Book of Leviticus. By the Rev. S. H. KELLOGG, D.D.
The Book of Proverbs. By the Rev. R. F. HORTON, D.D.
The Acts of the Apostles. Vol. I.
By the Rev. Professor G. T. STOKES, D.D.
The Gospel of St. John. Vol. I.
By the Rev. Professor MARCUS DODS, D.D.

LONDON: HODDER & STOUGHTON, 27, PATERNOSTER ROW.

THE EXPOSITOR'S BIBLE, *continued.*

FIFTH SERIES.

- The Epistle to the Thessalonians.**
By the Rev. JAMES DENNEY, D.D.
The Book of Job. By the Rev. R. A. WATSON, D.D.
The Gospel of St. John. Vol. II. By Prof. MARCUS DODS, D.D.
The Epistle to the Ephesians.
By the Rev. Prof. G. G. FINDLAY, B.A.
The Acts of the Apostles. Vol. II.
By the Rev. Prof. G. T. STOKES, D.D.
The Book of Psalms. Vol. I.
By the Rev. ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D.

SIXTH SERIES.

- The Epistle to the Philippians.** By the Rev. Principal RAINY, D.D.
The First Book of Kings.
By the Very Rev. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S.
Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. By the Rev. F. ADENEY, M.A.
The Book of Joshua.
By the Rev. Prof. W. G. BLAICKIE, D.D., LL.D.
The Book of Psalms. Vol. II.
By the Rev. ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D.
The Epistles of St. Peter. By the Rev. Prof. LUMBY, D.D.

SEVENTH SERIES.

- The Epistle to the Romans.**
By the Rev. HANDLEY C. G. MOULE, M.A., D.D.
The Second Book of Kings.
By the Very Rev. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S.
The Books of Chronicles. By the Rev. W. H. BENNETT, M.A.
The Second Epistle to the Corinthians.
By the Rev. JAMES DENNEY, D.D.
The Book of Numbers. By the Rev. R. A. WATSON, D.D.
The Book of Psalms. Vol. III.
By the Rev. ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D.

EIGHTH AND FINAL SERIES.

- The Book of Daniel.** By the Very Rev. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S.
The Book of Jeremiah. By the Rev. W. H. BENNETT, M.A.
The Book of Deuteronomy.
By the Rev. Prof. ANDREW HARPER, D.D.
The Song of Solomon and the Lamentations of Jeremiah.
By the Rev. W. F. ADENEY, M.A.
The Book of Ezekiel. By the Rev. JOHN SKINNER, M.A.
The Book of the Twelve Prophets.
By the Rev. Prof. GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D. In Two Volumes.

LONDON: HODDER & STOUGHTON, 27, PATERNOSTER ROW.

OCT 8 1907

APR 6 1909

MAR 8 '56

DEC 31 1979

11 July '0

